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Berisha, Macedonian Deputies Discuss Kosovo

AU2305133493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] The President's Press and Information Office conveys that President Sali Berisha met today with a group of parliamentary deputies of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Berisha said that the recognition of Macedonia by Albania and all its political forces once again clearly shows that Albania and its citizens favor peace and stability in the region and that they are just as concerned that Macedonia not fall prey to those who want to integrate it into Greater Serbia. Regarding the stability and independence of this republic, they contribute to preventing the conflict south of the Balkans. Albania's point of view has been that the recognition of Macedonia as an independent state and the guarantee of this independence is of special importance to peace and stability in the region. This is a realistic policy.

On the other hand, Macedonia and the political forces of this multinational republic should by all means guarantee all human and national rights to Albanians and other ethnic communities living in this republic. We do not negate what has been achieved, but demand that the political forces in this republic and the international community cooperate so that the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia recognizes and respects the legitimate human rights of Albanians living in this republic.

Concerning the situation in Kosovo, they expressed the opinion that the situation in this region is very grave and tense. Milosevic is preparing plans to start ethnic cleansing and truncate Kosovo. The Albanians, wherever they are, will object to a massacre by Belgrade in Kosovo. To avoid this and the spread of war in the Balkans, Kosovo should be placed under surveillance by NATO troops. On this basis, a solution to the political status of Kosovo may be found.

The delegation expressed its full support with the reforms undertaken in Albania and the policy followed on solving the national question.

Former Property Owners Stage Hunger Strike

AU2205163993 Tirana ATA in English 1048 GMT 22 May 93

["Former Owners Escalate Efforts To Get Their Property Back—Part of Them Have Begun Hunger Strikes in Shkoder"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 22 (ATA)—Pellumb Sulo says: After the gathering that the branch of the Association of the Former Owners "Property by Justice" organised yesterday before noon, a group of former owners, after having signed earlier voluntarily, staged a hunger strike. They are staging it on the second floor of a private building at the city's center, which until late had been nationalized by the monist regime.

Before the strike started, the chairman of the branch of the ex-owner association "Ownership Through Justice," Njazi Muka, said that the number of the strikers would be 42. Today, on the second day of this strike, its chairman, Burhan Ulqinaku, did not accept to give the exact number of the strikers. He said that the demands of the hunger strikers are the same as those their association has proclaimed. Among the demands is that for the unconditional restitution of all ownerships to the ex-owners or their legitimate heirs, lifting of artificial co-ownership which brings about conflicts, restitution of the lands to the ex-owners, non-recognition of the title deeds of the period after 1945, etc.

Republican Party Leader Speaks on Coalition

AU2405114893 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 14 May 93 p 5

[Column: "Governmental Coalition Viewed by Republican Party and Social Democratic Party Chairmen"—Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo report: "We Have Serious Divergences With the Democratic Party"]

[Text] A coalition means the uniting of forces to achieve one goal against another coalition or force. The Republican Party has a limited representation in the government and administration, with less forces than it can afford. This happens not for a lack of will on our part. That is why I cannot say that the present coalition is a complete one. For the good of the country, we suggest that the government broadens its political base, with more effective participation by those parties that formed the triple alliance to break communist rule. We think that the natural difficulties encountered by the reforms, the stubborn and malevolent position that socialists and others exert both inside and outside parliament, as well as several shortcomings observed in governing the country, necessitate a dialogue and a strong cooperation among the parties of the democratic wing.

Consultations with the coalition parties have been very casual and not held systematically. If I considered the coalition to be real, I would not have made several remarks known to the president, government, and the Democratic Party [PD] itself. We have serious divergences with them concerning the application of the reforms, the laws on privatization, and local government problems that, in our opinion, are not being properly solved.

King Juan Carlos of Spain, Berov Sign Treaty

AU2305190493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 May 93

[Excerpts] The special plane of Spanish King Juan Carlos I landed some three hours ago. [passage omitted]

King Juan Carlos I and President Zhelyu Zhelev held talks at the Boyana residence. We waited in vain for any possible information. However, the Spanish Constitution does not allow the king to make any public statements or interviews that have not been approved by the cabinet members. In addition, it is not permitted for the contents of talks conducted by the king to be published.

The first Bulgarian-Spanish Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation was signed in the presence of King Juan Carlos I and President Zhelyu Zhelev. Two additional agreements—on extradition and on mutual legal assistance in civil and penal cases—were also signed. For the Bulgarian side, the agreements were signed by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov in his capacity as foreign minister.

[Begin Berov recording] The agreements we signed will have a positive role not only in our coming together in the sphere of politics, but also in encouraging trade exchange, which is presently negligent in its scope. While we have already travelled much of the road toward introducing market economy in Bulgaria, it would be very beneficial if our state and private companies find a place under the warm Spanish sun. [end recording]

Meetings between governmental officials in the two delegations began. Rumen Bikov, minister of trade, intended to discuss with Claudio Aranzadi, minister of commerce, industry, and tourism, many projects for investments, with a special interest in the sphere of chemistry. In addition, agreements on the participation of Spanish businessmen in the privatization and establishment of joint enterprises will be discussed.

Mr. Valentin Gatenski, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and (Maximo Cajao), state secretary of the Spanish Foreign Ministry, will discuss alleviating Bulgarian access not only to the Spanish markets but to all 12 EC countries. In addition, after ratifying the agreement on our associated membership in the EC, they will discuss the possibility of shortening the period between admission as an associated member to full membership in the EC from 10 to three to four years, and softening certain Spanish quotas, such as those for the import of ferrous metals.

Later on tonight, President Zhelyu Zhelev and his wife will host an official dinner in honor of the distinguished Spanish guests.

Royal Couple Visits Cathedral

AU2405201393 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 24 (BTA)—The second day of the official visit here of King Juan Carlos I of Spain and Queen Sophia coincided with the celebrations of the day of the Slav enlighteners Cyril and Methodius which is an official Bulgarian holiday. This morning their royal highnesses the king and the queen of Spain visited the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral—the largest Eastern Orthodox cathedral in the Balkans. The king and the queen kissed the pearl icon of Virgin Mary and the Resurrection Icon. Here the royal couple met Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim whom they presented with a china icon of Virgin Mary as a gift to the cathedral. Patriarch Maksim presented King Juan Carlos I with a bible.

The king and the queen expressed their admiration of the crypt which houses an exhibition of Bulgarian icons.

Earlier the king and the queen laid a wreath at the monument to the unknown soldier near the cathedral.

The king and the queen were constantly accompanied by many Sofianites who greeted them and once again chanted "Simeon"—the name of the exiled Bulgarian king in Madrid. The king and the queen stopped often to shake hands with Sofianites. A young girl expressed her indignation before BTA that the Bulgarian press and the National Radio had not publicized today's schedule of the royal couple.

The guests, who were accompanied by Vice President Blaga Dimitrova, visited the museum of national history where they showed special interest in the Thracian golden treasures of Panagyurishte and Rogozen and the Varna chalcolithe which according to experts, includes the oldest processed gold in the world. Leaving the museum King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia thanked its management for their hospitality and said they were impressed by the exposition. The first royal signatures were placed in the visitors' book.

The king and queen of Spain opened an exhibition of engravings of the royal collection of the Prado Museum in Madrid at the Gallery of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Foundation. The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, Sofia Mayor Aleksandur Yanchulev, M.P.'s and foreign diplomats. The royal couple was presented Valentin Starchev's sculpture "the clergyman." When the royal couple was leaving the gallery their bodyguards were startled by an attempt of a young man to approach King Juan Carlos I and shake hands with him.

At noon King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia gave an official reception at the Sheraton Hotel in honour of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and his wife Maria Zheleva. It was attended by about 400 guests. According to a reporter of the Bulgarian National Radio the atmosphere at the Sheraton Hotel was up to standard for the

first Bulgarian royal reception, that the royal couple was dressed in an elegant style and that the "gestures were cordial."

This evening the king and queen of Spain will attend an official reception given by President Zhelyu Zhelev on the occasion of today's holiday.

Tomorrow King Juan Carlos I is expected to address the Bulgarian Parliament.

King Addresses Parliament

AU2505103793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0810 GMT 25 May 93

[Speech delivered by King Juan Carlos I of Spain at Bulgarian National Assembly in Sofia on 25 May—live, in Spanish with simultaneous translation into Bulgarian]

[Text] Mr. President of the Republic, Mr. Chairman of the National Assembly, esteemed ladies and gentlemen members of parliament: For the queen and myself it is a great honor to be here in the Bulgarian parliament, the center and symbol of your national sovereignty.

I am particularly grateful to you for the opportunity to address the Bulgarian people through their legitimate representatives, the members of the National Assembly.

Now that I am facing your parliament, which was elected not very long ago in free and multiparty elections, I think of your distant predecessors who gathered in the historical town of Veliko Turnovo in 1879 and who gave a constitution to the nascent state. That Turnovo Constitution was considered one of the most progressive and liberal of its time. It adopted the principle of free elections and entrusted the executive power to the National Assembly.

The end of the Cold War and of military and ideological confrontation opened horizons of hope to mankind a few years ago. All the optimistic predictions seemed to be attainable at that time. Many of these came true. The most important was that numerous European countries recovered their true independence and sovereignty.

Bulgaria was one of them. Your country managed to guarantee a democratic parliamentary system while (?avoiding conflicts) and preserving law and order. It is now engaged in successfully concluding the stages of change in its political and economic system.

The disintegration of the military blocs and the removal of the danger of nuclear confrontation has improved the general prospects for peace and (?did not permit the revival of patterns of behavior which we considered extinguished in our world), such as intolerance, trends of [word indistinct], revanchism, violence, disregard of human rights, and international (?confrontation).

Today more than ever, we are obliged to intensify the tremendous integration activities that were implemented over the last 40 years within the framework of various European institutions, based on the principles that guide them, such as [word indistinct] and respect for basic human rights.

We believe in the sense of responsibility of Bulgaria's democratic leaders, thanks to whose constructive actions and behavior and thanks to whose moderate attitude Bulgaria has become a stabilizing factor in the region.

We share Bulgaria's concern about the events in former Yugoslavia and we greatly appreciate the support that Bulgaria has given to the actions of the European Community and the resolutions of the United Nations, and we are aware of the great price that Bulgaria is paying for their observance and for the application of the sanctions.

We must try to prevent the common concern which the situation in former Yugoslavia causes all of us from becoming alarming, and all peace-loving countries should join in the efforts to prevent the barbarism, to halt the destruction and violence against peoples, so that no one feels entitled to impose a given religion, or given ideas, or given [word indistinct] on others.

The strict observance of all principles laid down in the European Charter and the consolidation of solidarity among the democratic states of Europe represent the most reliable guarantees for overcoming the present situation of insecurity on our continent.

With its active participation in the (?Political Council of Cooperation) and in the CSCE, Bulgaria is making a considerable contribution in this respect.

We welcomed with great satisfaction Bulgaria's membership of the Council of Europe, in which Spain played an important role. We also welcomed the fact that Bulgaria joined and ratified the European Human Rights Convention, which also includes the recognition of [words indistinct].

This is confirmation that Bulgaria is a part of Europe and contributes to the defense of human rights.

The agreement of association signed between Bulgaria and the EC and the fact that this document assigns a permanent character to the political dialogue, which is a step toward further integration represents a dynamic factor in Bulgaria's foreign relations.

Mr. President of the Republic, Mr. National Assembly Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, National Assembly deputies, Bulgaria has had rich experience in its 1000-year history and can rely on the firm aspirations of its people, represented through the members of parliament, to meet the challenge of its consolidation as a pluralistic democracy and its integration with Europe.

To conclude this address, I would like to express our gratitude and our best wishes to the National Assembly and [words indistinct].

Interior Minister Mikhaylov Refuses To Resign

AU2505081593 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Mikhaylov by Ana Zarkova; place and date not given: "I Shall Not Resign, Because the Police Acted in Conformity With the Law During the Union of Democratic Forces Rally"]

[Text] [Zarkova] Mr. Mikhaylov, what is the lesson you have learned from the incident involving the police and the demonstrators at the rally that recently took place in front of the National Assembly building on the so-called "Day of Discontent" [13 May]?

[Mikhaylov] It was an absolutely routine police action. We have already acquired considerable experience with such demonstrations over the last three years. Hence, there is no lesson to be learned. We expected some extremist action to occur on 13 May, and so we carried video cameras. We were convinced that the police were not likely to break the law or provoke an incident, and our expectations were justified, as is confirmed by numerous pieces of evidence. In the first place, the protest marchers did not keep to the route as prescribed by the Sofia City Council. In the second place, a rally in the vicinity of the parliament building, namely at a distance of only 500 meters, was absolutely illegal. Instead of putting pressure on the demonstrators to disperse, we let them reach the railings around the parliament building. Had they not tried to remove the barriers, there would not have been any incident whatsoever. Nevertheless, Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] deputies came out to talk to the people, as they claimed. I do not know what they said, but the crowd got excited and attacked the railings. There was only one single clash at the SDS rally, and this was certainly not provoked by the police.

[Zarkova] Many people are asking themselves whether it is a coincidence that the incident with the former National Assembly chairman was the only scene that escaped the video cameras and the photographic lenses?

[Mikhaylov] Neither the two police cameras nor Mrs. Akhchieva's camera recorded Mr. Savov falling to the ground or the attack on him that he claims. None of the reporters to whom I spoke saw or photographed such an incident. It may all have happened accidentally, or perhaps the attention of the people who were taking pictures was distracted and focused on other events.

[Zarkova] Your resignation has been repeatedly demanded since 13 May.

[Mikhaylov] I have been urged to resign since 30 December 1992. There is nothing new about this. I would be prepared to resign, but only if my people had committed a gross legal offense in performing their official duties, an offense of which I should be ashamed. This was not the case on the Day of Discontent. I am satisfied with the actions of the police. I am grateful to them for remaining calm and keeping their cool at the same time.

[Zarkova] The city council members voted for your prosecution, on the grounds that you are preventing Mayor Yanchulev's people from dismantling the Soviet Army monument. As a law graduate, are you convinced that the preliminary investigation conducted against you should be called off for lack of evidence?

[Mikhaylov] This entire affair is part of the noisy propaganda campaign deliberately stirred up by certain SDS circles to destabilize the situation, to overthrow the government, and to dissolve parliament. Mr. Yanchulev and all the members of the City Council who are familiar with the law cannot ignore the fact that the resolution of the Sofia city council members about the Soviet monument was simply a public provocation. First, the monument is not city property. The council is perfectly well aware that it has no jurisdiction over its removal. Second, it was not our government, but the previous cabinet that signed the Cooperation Treaty with the Russian Federation. Article 14 of the Treaty stipulates that any action regarding monuments belonging to one or the other side should be agreed by negotiations. The National Assembly ratified the treaty. Hence, the transfer or removal of such a monument is subject to international agreement. If we wish to be seen as a serious state in the eyes of the world, we must fulfill our international commitments. The fact that some people in the Mayor's Office are pursuing their political ambitions through public confrontation means nothing. If the SDS had the serious intention of removing the monument, it would have done so when it was in power. Actually, the question of the monument is a political intrigue aimed at disgracing the government. The council members tried to blackmail the cabinet by forcing it to adopt a resolution on the monument. They tried to extort a decision from the government in the defense of state property so as to be able to say: Look, this is a communist government that is protecting the monument of our invaders. We did not fall for this provocation. The Council of Ministers decided that Yanchulev should submit the case to a court of law. The court was supposed to pronounce on the legitimacy of the council members' decision. The Mayor, however, deliberately refused to do so.

[Zarkova] On whose orders were the police acting on 9 May 1993?

[Mikhaylov] The order to ban the 9 May rally was also a case of exceeding legal authority. The mayor is not authorized to ban a rally; he is only entitled to designate a different location for it. He may instruct the police to disperse the rally and to direct it to a different location. Yanchulev did not even do this, because his order was under appeal. Hence, he let things proceed in their own way, while only oral exhortations were made during the rally. One way or another, the police accomplished their task by preventing the demonstrators from entering the

area around the monument. Allegations that I prevented the city council from doing its work are absolutely groundless.

[Zarkova] Minister Mikhaylov, the police have evidently been busy since you came to office. The results of the investigation on Mr. Savov's case will show whether policemen are beating up members of parliament or not. Nevertheless, recently we have all witnessed successful police operations, the arrests of gangsters on the highways, and the interception of smugglers using illegal channels. Are these merely accidents in combating organized crime, or do you have another explanation related to certain new strategies in the work of the Internal Affairs Ministry?

[Mikhaylov] I can provide specific explanations, and I hope that I am right. First, we have started the structural reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Real independence has been granted to the police forces, which gives them greater freedom to carry out their duties. This was done by introducing official instructions on active service. In addition to this, the newly established structure of the National Police Directorate grants more extensive rights to police chiefs. I think that by doing this we have inspired the police officials with greater confidence in their future, so that they should not expect to be dismissed at any time and on any grounds. I have also issued an instruction on additional jobs that I hope will provide an incentive for policemen and encourage them to perform additional duties.

[Zarkova] Is this instruction likely to encourage policemen to become taxi drivers, as happened to medical doctors some time ago.

[Mikhaylov] By no means. The instruction does not allow them to take such jobs. Its text relies on the experience of the U.S. police forces. A policeman is entitled to four additional recreational hours in which to do duties related to his profession, such as working as security guards in supermarkets or night clubs, on the basis of a contract signed under the supervision of his superiors. This improves the prestige of the police force as an institution and benefits the policeman at the same time by permitting him to earn some additional income to improve his modest wages. The presence of the police will be increased both in the towns and the villages.

Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit to Japan

AU2305190193 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 23 (BTA)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation ended its visit to Japan late last night.

"This was an exceptionally important visit revealing new opportunities before Bulgarian-Japanese relations," National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov told the special correspondent of the Bulgarian national television in Tokyo.

During our talks and meetings we came across goodwill, concern over processes taking place in Bulgaria and readiness for cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis said members of the Bulgarian delegation—Mrs. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Osman Oktay, MP of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and Mr. Marin Marinov, MP of the New Union for Democracy. Mr. Stefan Savov, floor leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), said that Bulgaria cannot expect support from Japan before the situation in the Balkans clears up and the Japanese are absolutely sure that the regime in Bulgaria is stable.

Dimitrov Claims Rising Support for SDS

AU2305133993 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 22 May 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA)—The Second Congress of the Bulgarian Teachers' Trade Union ended tonight with the adoption of a package of decisions concerning the future of secondary school education in Bulgaria. This trade union is a member of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and one of the largest branch trade union organizations in Bulgaria (with almost 106,000 members). The congress of the Bulgarian Teachers' Trade Union decided to insist that the changes in secondary school education take place after the adoption of a concept on the development of secondary school education. It proposes that a commission be set up under the patronage of the National Assembly chairman for discussing this document and achieving national consensus. The participants in the congress voted some guidelines of this concept. In connection with the processes of privatization which have started in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Teachers' Trade Union expressed the opinion that the number of private schools in Bulgaria should not exceed 2 percent. Mr. Ivan Yordanov was re-elected chairman of the Bulgarian Teachers' Trade Union.

A group of Bulgarian citizens who presented themselves as a "delegation" of the "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization visited Skopje yesterday, the BTA correspondent there, Nikolay Koev, reported today. According to the NOVA MAKEDONIJA Skopje daily, "Ilinden" is an organization defending the national, cultural and other rights of the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia (southwestern Bulgaria). Last year the Bulgarian court refused to register the "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization.

The high popularity of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in the larger population centres is a fact and its popularity in the small towns and villages is growing, SDS leader Filip Dimitrov told journalists at a happening in the city of Plovdiv (southern Bulgaria) organized by the local SDS leadership on the occasion of May 24—the Day of Slavonic Letters and Culture, the local

BTA correspondent reported. Later on SDS MP's from Plovdiv met with representatives of the municipal and local structures of the SDS in the region of Plovdiv and discussed problems concerning the municipal budgets and the preparations for new parliamentary elections.

Deputy National Assembly Chairman Kadir Kadir MP of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and leaders and MP's of the DPS took part today in a commemorative convention near the town of Isperikh (northeastern Bulgaria) to the victims of the so-called regeneration process—the coercive change of the names of the Bulgarian Turks during the communist regime. The participants in the convention honoured the memory of those who perished between 1985-1989, including a 17-year-old boy. Though there are people who wish to continue the regeneration process under a more sophisticated form, they cannot turn the clock back, Mrs. Sherife Mustafa MP of the DPS said. The foundations of democracy have been laid, she said in a greetings address to the participants in the convention, the BTA correspondent in Isperikh reported. We are but a small people, Vladimir Sotirov said, greeting the convention on behalf of the green party. To be free is our future, to be together is our salvation. The convention heard a letter to the president of the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation Dr. Konstantin Trenchev. The hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians members of Podkrepa and the DPS are a guarantee that outrages such as the regeneration process can no longer take place in Bulgaria, the letter to Dr. Trenchev reads. The BTA correspondent also reported of an incident during the convention. At noon an anonymous call was received at the regional police headquarters in Isperikh warning that a bomb had been planted at the site of the convention. The incident is being investigated by the police and did not disturb the convention.

The trial of four persons charged with illegal trade with East European girls ended in Vienna, Tsvetana Delibaltova reported in a BTA exclusive. One of them, Bulgarian national Binko Kanev (21), was sentenced to 12 months in prison.

Prices Rising Faster Than Production Costs

AU2105132193 Sofia BTA in English 1027 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Statisticians put April inflation at a mere 3.9 percent and inflation in the first quarter of 1993 at 22.8 percent. After the National Statistical Institute (NSI) formally announced this data last week, NSI experts said mercantile additions were the major reason for the price growth. While production costs rose by merely 7 percent over the quarter, retail prices climbed much more sharply.

This is confirmed by calculations of National Electricity Company finance experts, who say the higher electricity prices for industrial users led to an only slight rise in food production costs, while retail prices jumped significantly. Such a rise cannot be logically explained, experts say.

Inflation is expected to rise in May, following the rise in the prices in fuels and electricity. According to Velichka Rangelova, who heads the NSI Price Statistics Department, any projections for annual inflation would be unreliable. Yet it is clear the rise in fuel and electricity prices will have a two-stage effect on the prices of goods, first in May and then this autumn, when the heating is turned on and consumers feel the price bite more tangibly.

The average Bulgarian will spend 1,286 leva (about 50 dollars) on food this May, says the federation of consumers. A four-member family (with two teenage children) will spend 5,202 leva (about 280 dollars) on food. The cost of living for children under 14 is 1,315 leva (about 50 dollars) and for pensioners 1,069 leva (about 1,069 leva).

The government has the obligation to update the price projections and local governments to penalize those who raise prices for no valid reason.

Klaus Criticizes Railways Union for Strike

AU2405153493 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 19 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today that this morning's strike by employees of Czech Railways (CD) was both illegal and an unfortunate way to settle the rail transport situation.

About 70 percent of the employees at 15 Czech train stations, or about one-tenth of CD's employees, went on a one-hour warning strike this morning that delayed 20 express trains in the Prague area and eight in the area of Plzen, West Bohemia. Strikers were demanding an average wage increase per employee of 300 crowns per month.

Klaus told journalists, however, that it was in the area of transport that wages rose the most during the first quarter. So that it seems extraordinarily inappropriate to me that a wage strike should take place in precisely this area, he said.

A government representative for CD, Jaromir Kunst, said a calculation of losses resulting from delays would be available soon. Besides this, there has been damage to travelers' morale. Unfortunately, international express trains were also halted, which will have an unfortunate impact on Czech Railways from the point of view of European Railways, Kunst said.

Chairman of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions (CMKOS) Vladimir Petrus told journalists that the Union of Railway Workers, which called the strike, had not consulted with the CMKOS in advance. He said the problem the strikers were attempting to correct was that they were being insufficiently valued financially for their honest work.

At its session today, the government also discussed a bill to transform Czech Railways which would separate its internal accounting and financial procedures in order to open its management up to better scrutiny.

President Havel Favors European Union Process

LD2305164693 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 23 (CTK)—The Maastricht plan for European unity is the crowning effort of the post-war generation of politicians, who have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to seek a new model for coexistence on the European continent, said Czech President Vaclav Havel today in his weekly radio broadcast Talks from Lany.

Havel, in response to the second Danish referendum on the Maastricht treaty, said that he was in favour of the process of creating a European union. He said that he understood it to be the result of a very long process, a sort of reaction to the dangers to which states founded on national principles were exposed in the past.

Havel also said that he understood the apprehensions of so-called Eurosceptics that a central Brussels executive branch might be removed from the will of the various nations and societies which should be reflected in these parliamentary institutions.

He called the trend toward creating a European union historically extremely important. Of course this means that someone's identity cannot be denied him, he said. It cannot be at the expense of the identity of individual nations, individual countries.

Havel said that he had come to realise the importance of informal meetings between politicians. It is important that people are not strangers to one another, who look at each other with potential distrust, he said.

The partial mobilisation in Czechoslovakia on May 21, 1938 is an inspirational example in history, Havel said, especially today when the new state is seeking its identity and position in the world. Remembering such an anniversary, I think, is always good, because it reminds us all that there are moments when we are able to stand up for a good thing, when we are able to take on another level of responsibility for the fate of our country or the fate of human society, Havel said.

Klaus Interviewed on 20 May Talks in Germany

AU2405153693 Prague CTK in English 0921 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 21 (CTK)—The Social Democratic Party (SPD), Germany's strongest opposition party, is not likely to oppose a possible compensation for the Czech victims of the 1939-45 Nazi regime in the Czech lands, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus says in the daily RUDE PRAVO today.

Klaus met with SPD Chairman Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, in Aachen on Thursday [20 May], where he attended, along with Czech President Vaclav Havel, the presentation of Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzales with the Charlemagne Prize.

We took up all major problems, which we discuss with the (German Federal) Government. A probe was made into what extent the SPD would support all the matters causing main problems in Czech-German relations. We had a chance to explain our stands thoroughly, Klaus is quoted as saying.

Asked about the feasibility of compensation for the Czech victims of the Nazi regime, Klaus says that everything is under negotiations and he does not find the SPD likely to oppose the issue.

Klaus appreciated the opportunity to meet with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, as he would consider it a big mistake if the Budapest session of the Central European Initiative's premiers, scheduled for 16-17 July, resulted only in a resolution without any content. We would like to make something out of the pragmatic stands we share, RUDE PRAVO quotes Klaus as saying.

He adds that he agreed with Vranitzky on their mutual contacts before the Budapest session is prepared.

Klaus says that the Temelin, South Bohemia, controversial nuclear power plant, was not considered. It is the question whether or not the institution of the Central European Initiative is significant, which is still to be discussed, Klaus says.

The Central European Initiative includes the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy and Slovenia.

Referring to the envisaged Czech-German agreement on refugees, Klaus confirms that the Czech Republic conditions this agreement on the conclusion of relevant Czech-Slovak accords. He says that he discussed the issue with German representatives in Aachen. The conclusion of the agreement in the nearest future is improbable, RUDE PRAVO quotes Klaus as saying.

In Aachen, Klaus also met with chairman of the European Community (EC) Commission Jacques Delors. They agreed upon Klaus' two day official visit to the EC Brussels headquarters in June, the paper reports.

Dlouhy Reports on Visit to United States

AU2405204093 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 20 (CTK)—The contracts signed between Cesky Energeticky Zavod (Czech Energy Works - CEZ) and Westinghouse for building the Temelin nuclear power plant (in southern Bohemia) is a big chance for the American producer and its sub-suppliers to obtain other orders from Russia and the Ukraine.

Minister of Industry and Trade for the Czech Republic, Vladimir Dlouhy, was speaking at a press conference here after his return today from a three-day visit to the United States. He added that the contracts were not only advantageous for the Czech Republic but for the U.S. economy as well. His negotiations with Washington included U.S. participation in the possible risks and guarantees for the project.

U.S. representatives, meanwhile, were investigating possibilities how to share in providing better conditions than those already decided upon. These could, for example, include softer credit or participating with several institutions in guaranteeing loans for the project. The American EXIM Bank was providing the prospective credit, Dlouhy stated.

The Czech minister also said that the project to modernize Soviet-type nuclear power plants also found understanding with members of the U.S. Congress. He pointed out that he believed it was possible to obtain better conditions on contracts already closed. At the same time he emphasized that the Czech Government was totally supportive of such a project and if necessary, should be able to [extend] guarantees by itself.

Zieleniec, Baudys View Bosnian Peace Talks

LD2205190793 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] The situation in the former Yugoslavia and ways of resolving it were the subjects of various international meetings of politicians held during the current week. Czech government representatives joined in those debates, in particular at the first regular meeting of the consultative forum of the West European Union which was held in Rome.

After their return from Italy our reporter, Miroslav Konvalina, asked them at the Ruzyne airport for their stance on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first speaker will be Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, who will be followed by Defense Minister Antonin Baudys.

[Begin recording] [Konvalina] Yesterday you attended the meeting of the consultative forum of the West European Union and had the opportunity to acquaint yourself with the attitudes of European countries toward the resolution of the Balkan conflict. Do you see any shifts or a realistic prospect that the conflict will be ended soon?

[Zieleniec] That meeting has shown what we have known, that the whole world, including Europe, feels considerable helplessness in relation to the Balkan conflict, that that conflict and attitude towards it is in almost all European countries an internal political problem. It also pointed at the complexity of that conflict from the military point of view. It was clear that apart from the enormously complicated political level the military aspect of the conflict, too, is very complex. It is apparent that a simple cure cannot be found for this Balkan conflict which would resolve it overnight. The fact that there was a division of view on the method of resolving that conflict between Bosnian Serbs on the one side and representatives of Belgrade on the other side means that the endeavor of the international community has after all signified a certain step forward. It is now possible to put far greater pressure on the participants in the conflict in Bosnia, in particular on the representatives of Bosnian Serbs to ensure that the conflict is not escalated any further, to say the least. The fact that Russia has taken an active attitude to the resolution of the conflict will signify another important step. This is because this conflict cannot be resolved unilaterally. It must be resolved with the participation of all important political forces and thereby, apart from Western Europe and the West in general, the Islamic countries and Turkey in particular, Russia, too, must be part of the solution of the conflict.

[Konvalina] The Bosnian Serbs did not accept the Vance-Owen peace plan. Did you find in the proposals put forward at the meeting by individual delegations any chance, any solution that would end the conflict in the Balkans soon?

[Baudys] The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is very complicated and practically all participants agreed that the Vance-Owen plan although not perfect is at present the best that exists and it would be very, very desirable if the Bosnian Serbs would accept that plan. This is because any military solutions or outside intervention are not only dangerous and difficult, connected with the loss of thousands and thousands of lives, they are also enormously expensive and in no case are they pleasant since a military intervention is in effect the last thing that can be used after all negotiation attempts have failed. There of course arises the question as to what extent the Vance-Owen plan is really so unacceptable and to what extent the Bosnian Serbs are playing a card which reminds one of negotiations held under a great deal of pressure, and here I am using a very decent expression. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Opposes Visas for Yugoslavs

AU2105141993 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 May 93 pp 1-2

[Jiri Sirotek and Michal Musil report: "The Cernin Palace Is Rejecting Visa Requirements for Croats"]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not agree with the decision of the Czech cabinet on Wednesday [12 May] regarding the introduction of visa requirements for citizens from some countries of the former Yugoslavia, including Croatia. CESKY DENIK received this confirmation from reliable sources in the Foreign Ministry.

For the bill to enter into force, it is necessary, in view of Czech-Slovak agreements, to have approval by the Slovak Government. Documents on visa requirements for citizens of former Yugoslavia, with the exception of Slovenia, was presented by the Interior Ministry, which, according to the said source, is at odds with the Foreign Ministry over problems of migration. The Interior Ministry is also pushing for a stricter border regime to make access to the country difficult for potential refugees. The dispute between the two ministries was also confirmed by statements by Boris Lazar, an adviser to the foreign minister, who indicated in MLADA FRONTA DNES that the Interior Ministry has no systemic solution to the security problem.

The Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the visa requirement is an extreme measure. According to our source, the Foreign Ministry does not want to damage the Czech Republic's relations with other countries. According to the said source, visa requirements are being prepared for people from Romania, and Asian and Trancaucasian republics of the former USSR. A more strict visa regime should also be applied to Ukrainian citizens. According to the same source, the discussion on visa requirements is contributing to the faster conclusion of readmission treaties, that is, treaties on handing over immigrants. The Cernin Palace believes that the discussions of the Czech-Slovak commission on the border regime, whose first round took place yesterday, will be successful. The Slovak side has rejected any agreement on common borders so far.

Beata Bernikova from the press department of the Interior Ministry said to CESKY DENIK that the introduction of the border regime is closely connected with talks on the readmission treaty with Germany, which is preparing much stricter conditions to meet to be granted asylum. We have concluded treaties on handing over of foreigners with Austria, Slovakia, and Poland.

New Police President Outlines Views of Future

AU2305190393 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 18 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Police Force President Stanislav Novotny by Dusan Sramek; place and date not given: "I Would Also Like To Make Use of the Civic Commissions' Experience"]

[Text] [Sramek] Mr. President, as far as I am aware, you did not want to accept this post at first. What eventually persuaded you to accept it?

[Novotny] The fact that the Interior Ministry's administrators promised to ask for an increase in the police force's budget.

[Sramek] Was that the only reason?

[Novotny] No, of course not. I have had an opportunity to monitor developments in the police force from the sidelines, and I am not satisfied with what I have seen. So, if you want to look at it from this point of view, I would like to change things in the police force.

[Sramek] Resolving the police situation also involves cooperating with the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee [BBV]. However, it is known that this committee has involved itself in certain issues above its normal supervisory level. How do you view future cooperation with the BBV while ensuring that there is a certain amount of cooperation, but—at the same time—that the committee does not interfere in purely technical matters?

[Novotny] I have discussed this issue with Committee Chairman Suman and he has promised that he will cooperate closely with me and has assured me that the Defense and Security Committee does not want to usurp any authority that does not belong to it. We promised to agree on a means of coexistence, to communicate more than in the past, to resolve—first and foremost—professional matters, and not to try to politicize marginal issues and marginal problems.

[Sramek] I think regional police chiefs in particular were not pleased when you told the BBV that you would like to curb their autonomy in certain ways and bring them under the supervision of the Police Presidium and, at the same time, that you would like to increase certain district-level authority. Do you think your course of action may imply certain negative pressure?

[Novotny] This is possible, but I subscribe to the view that the police force is—by law—an armed security organization, and, consequently, that a rigid regime of subordination and superiority must prevail here. The police force must act in a more integrated mold so that we execute our authority as one, and so that all parts of the police force respect the methodical decisions of the police president or, as the case may be, the interior minister. It is, therefore, essential to create a more compact system for police bodies. As far as transferring authority to the district level is concerned, I am convinced that the majority of police work should be done in these smallest of regions where police officers have a far better feeling for what is actually happening, are in closer contact with local conditions, and are under greater supervision from the public. Therefore, we will transfer all the authority we have to transfer.

[Sramek] Is the Police Presidium considering using the members of the civic commissions who have considerable knowledge of the personnel situation?

[Novotny] I would like to communicate with the civic commissions since they are people with great knowledge of the personnel situation in the regions and who—on several occasions already—have referred certain helpful personnel possibilities to us. I have had positive experiences; therefore, I would like to continue to make use of their experience.

CNB Repels Pressure To Cut Interest Rate

AU2305195793 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 May 93 p 1

["hok"-signed report: "Low Inflation Will Lead to Lower Interest Rates From the Banks"]

[Text] Prague—This year's inflation rate should reach 17 percent. It can be estimated from the monthly inflation rate, which should not amount to more than 1 percent before the end of the year. This fact should be manifested in a reduction in the commercial banks' interest rates. Martin Svehla, Czech National Bank [CNB] spokesman, gave this information to CESKY DENIK.

Svehla stressed that the CNB will continue to increase its money supplies. The interest rate must correspond to the rate of inflation. In view of the low estimates for this year's inflation, there may be a certain reduction in the commercial banks' interest rates without the CNB influencing the situation. Svehla also reacted to the reports that the government is exerting pressure on the central bank to lower the current interest rate. According to him, some government representatives allege that lowering the interest rates would help the economy to recover. Svehla added that this is a fairly common occurrence in market economies when politicians feel the interest rate is high. The central bank's priority is to maintain the currency's stability, therefore, it will pursue a cautious policy. The central bank is structured like an independent bank to forestall such pressures. Svehla also pointed out that, for example, the somewhat restrictive state budget in the first quarter has not released money into the economy, but, on the contrary, has drained it from the economy. According to its spokesman, the CNB is not considering reducing the interest rate at the moment.

Cracks in Coalition Over Church Relations

AU2405153393 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 19 (CTK)—Monday's [17 May] session of representatives from the Czech Government coalition parties resulted in a radical, negative turn in the talks on transforming relations between the state and the Church, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Vaclav Benda said today.

Doubts were also cast on the already adopted schedule of steps to be taken in the issue, Benda told journalists.

Apart from the KDS, the Czech Government coalition is comprised of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL).

The ODS and ODA representatives have essentially challenged the preliminary accords on Church property restitution, KDS Spokesman Frantisek Stanek stated. The KDS considers such a stand unacceptable, as it also cast doubt on any other coalition agreements, he added.

Benda emphasised that there was no chance to reject the Church claims categorically under the Czech Republic's current Constitution and international obligations. The KDS insists that the negotiations must continue and a reasonable compromise be sought on how to return at least part of the property to the churches and redress at least some of the injustices committed, Benda said.

The communists seized at least one-half of the Church's property illegally, Benda stressed. If an agreement on restitution of Church property is rejected, if the law is not passed, it would have not only serious direct impacts on the coalition's existence, but churches would be likely to win trials before our courts and before the international courts, Benda underlined. The KDS thinks that this would only slow down the privatisation process in the Czech Republic, with the Czech state being immensely discredited, Benda concluded.

Union Leader Rejects Klaus Statement on Wages

AU2405153293 Prague CTK in English 1247 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 19 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus's words about an excessively quick growth in wages this year are unsubstantiated because they are not within context of the development of the cost of living and wages since 1991, Vladimir Petrus said today.

Petrus, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions (CKMOS), said that it was not even

possible to compare wage growth in March 1993 and in March 1992 because people were not buying goods for the same prices.

He stressed that Klaus had used statistical data in a goal-orientated way and added: It is necessary to speak about the situation as it is, not as it suits somebody.

Klaus said on Tuesday [18 May] that he considered a fast growth in wages the biggest threat to the Czech economy this year.

If the wage growth exceeds a certain limit, we will be trapped in a vicious circle. This must be felt even by trade union organisations, Klaus said.

A report from the Czech Statistics Office (CSU), acquired by CTK on Tuesday, said that the average monthly wage in Czech organisations with more than 24 employees had risen by 27.8 percent to 5,196 crowns (about 170 USD) in the first quarter of 1993 compared with the same period last year.

At the same time, the cost of living went up by 21.5 percent which means that the real wage rose by 5.2 percent.

CMKOS representatives said on the contrary today that real wages had decreased by 25 percent in 1991, by 18.8 percent in 1992 and now the decline is about 18 percent.

Petrus also criticised the fact that the CSU had not yet provided the unions with material for the forthcoming May 20 negotiations of the Council for Economic and Social Agreement, known as the tripartite council.

The Council, comprised by representatives of the government, employers and trade unions, was formed in 1990 to help preserve social peace during the period of transition from the central-command to the market economy.

Petrus said that the CSU should have provided the unions with necessary data on the development of prices and wages before May 15, but it would submit them only on the eve of the tripartite negotiations, according to the latest information available to the unionists.

Petrus denied reports that one of the CMKOS unions had started to closely cooperate with the opposition Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD).

He was reacting to the words by CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman, who said on Monday [17 May] that union representatives were starting to feel the necessity of political representation of the union movement and are naturally seeking it with the CSSD.

Petrus stressed the need for trade unions to be non-partisan, and noted that CMKOS representatives were exchanging views with all political parties.

The CMKOS associates over four million people in the ten-million Czech Republic.

Amendment Passed To Enhance Police Powers

AU2405204293 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 20 (CTK)—The Czech Parliament today approved an amendment to the Law on the Czech Police and the Law on Local Police.

The amendment gives policemen the right to confiscate on the spot weapons or objects which could be considered a weapon such as baseball bats, if there is a danger of their being used for violence or to threaten violence.

According to the current law, police can interfere in such cases only at the moment weapons are actually used, which restricts the possibility of preventive action in protecting lives, public order and property.

A policeman who seizes a weapon must now give the offender a certificate confirming the confiscation. The weapon can be returned to the owner later if he applies at a local police department.

The amendment also makes it possible to take a person into custody to determine his identity.

Report Cites Drug Smuggling Statistics

AU2405170793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 May 93 p 2

["hr"-signed report: "Some of the Drug Consignments Remain on Our Territory"]

[Text] At least 749 kilograms of heroin were smuggled across the former federation last year and then seized abroad. Some 130 kilograms of this drug were discovered in the CSFR. The most common forms of drug smuggling are by truck, passenger car, and air. One of the main arteries for smuggling drugs across the Czech Republic is Prague's Ruzyne Airport, which is used by couriers from Asia, South America, and Africa.

Jiri Komorous, an official from the Criminal Police Headquarters, said at yesterday's news conference in Prague that the so-called Balkan route and, first and foremost, its northern branch—which leads across the Czech Republic—is still used for drug smuggling. Heroin from southwest Asia destined for Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, France, and Great Britain is smuggled along this route. A route from Russia and a cocaine route from South America are also used. Some of the consignments are destined for the Czech Republic.

Since January, when an anti-drug unit was established within the Criminal Police Headquarters, 34 operations have been carried out in which 39 culprits, including 34 Czech Republic citizens, have been handed over to the authorities in connection with 51 crimes. A combination of repressive measures and—primarily—increased prevention are intended to form the basis of the state's anti-drug policy. "The police force alone cannot do

anything," said Komorous. He is unequivocally opposed to legalizing any kind of drugs.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 20 May on pages 1 and 4, under the headline "Some Drug Consignments Are Destined for the Domestic Market," carries a 600-word "(ina)"-signed report on the same news conference. According to this report, "in comparison with recent years, there has been a relative decline in the black market price of narcotics in the Czech Republic. Hashish costs around 500 korunas per gram and cigarettes containing apparently pure marijuana cost around 25 korunas. Cocaine costs 2,000-2,500 korunas per gram and the price of heroin hovers between 1,800 and 2,000 korunas.

"The traditional Czech drug is pervitin. Its nickname is gingerbread, and in Germany it goes by the name 'cheko.' One gram of this substance can be obtained for 1,000 korunas. Pervitin has also become much sought-after abroad. Czech 'gingerbread bakers' often travel directly to Germany. Local drug dealers have calculated that it is simpler and safer to bring in the producers rather than the drug itself. According to the police, pervitin has already surfaced in Canada."]

Not Enough Customers for New Infantry Weapons

AU2505104093 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 May 93 p 4

[Tomas Rubes article: "For the Time Being, Lada Stays in the Strongbox"]

[Text] Ready samples of a set of the new generation of hand-held firearms, Lada, are stashed away in the strongbox of the Uhersky Brod arms factory. They are ready for reequipping the Czech Army. The technical developments and tests have been concluded. A series of turnabouts in the economic and political conditions has apparently not ended, however, and a question mark still hovers over their mass production.

The Lada set consists of a submachine gun, a light machine gun, and a short-barrelled submachine gun for special units. The structure of the weapons is modular, so most of the parts are interchangeable. The technical data put the weapons in the world top class.

The development of Lada began at the end of the 1980's, originally designed for Soviet 5.45-mm cartridges. After the prototype tests in 1990, the State Defense Council decided to redesign the set for NATO's 5.56-mm cartridges. At that time, the Army no longer had the required funds, and the enterprise completed the development at its own expense.

To date, the Army has not decided on whether to place an order. There is a shortage of funds, and apparently a clear concept of modernization of the armament is also lacking. If the enterprise received an order today, the technical preparation for production would require approximately three years and an investment of about 0.5 billion korunas.

Therefore, production preparations can only start if an order for the so-called starting quantity is placed that would guarantee the repayment of loans.

According to a rough estimate of the Uhersky Brod managers, the production of approximately 200,000 units would have to be guaranteed. At the time of dictated prices, the state paid approximately 2,500 korunas for a submachine gun model 58. The new Lada submachine gun would cost between 15,000 and 20,000 korunas. If a small quantity of these weapons were to be purchased, importing them would be a more prudent alternative. A large purchase would make the Lada cheaper.

The current development focuses on technical changes that would help to reduce the planned investment. Director Miroslav Duda: "We are not certain that we are going to receive an order. It is a game at the level of notions and assumptions. We stay in the game, so that the enterprise does not lose continuity in the development of these arms. If the experts leave, nobody will be able to get it going again."

Lada could allegedly attract customers abroad, but one cannot count on exports until the weapon is a part of the Czech Army's equipment.

"A state order would clearly improve our situation, but we do not need it to survive," the director says.

General Production Manager Jiri Mysinsky: "The service life of the current model 58 submachine gun is rapidly coming to an end. Sooner or later, the weapon will wear out, and the Army will have to decide." Uhersky Brod is waiting for the last word.

Poll Shows Havel, Klaus Trusted by Majority

LD2405115993 Prague CTK in English 1110 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 24 (CTK)—The politicians Prague residents find most trustworthy are Czech President Vaclav Havel, trusted by 78 per cent of Praguers, Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy, trusted by 74 per cent, and Premier Vaclav Klaus, trusted by 70 per cent.

These figures are the results of an opinion poll of 200 Prague residents conducted May 10 by the Dema marketing and demographics firm.

Other politicians enjoying the trust of the majority of Praguers are Transport Minister Jan Strasky (62 per cent), Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik (61 per cent), Foreign Affairs Minister Josef Zieleniec (55 per cent), and Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda (50 per cent).

Meciar Discusses Domestic Policy Issues

AU2405130793 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 May 93 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Lubo Rabay; place and date not given: "Corruption Is More Dangerous Than Opposition; Vladimir Meciar: The State Must Maintain Its Sovereignty Over the Parties"]

[Text] Almost a year has elapsed since the elections that brought the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to power in Slovakia. The economic situation is perhaps the most difficult that it has been over the past four years. Considerable tension is making itself felt on the political plane as well. This was an opportunity for us to ask Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar for an interview.

[Rabay] Criticism is being poured on your head. Are you still convinced that the HZDS with Vladimir Meciar at its head is the right unifying force to allow Slovakia to concentrate its energy on overcoming the economic, social, and political tensions?

[Meciar] When we entered the government, we knew what the situation of the state was that we were taking over. We made the halting of the economic decline our main target. Even the leitmotif of our electoral campaign had been "sweat and tears." Let us now assess what we have resolved and what we have not. The questions that I consider to have been preliminarily resolved are the stabilization of the markets and the stabilization of foreign trade. Our exports exceed imports, which applies even to our trade with the Czech Republic. The question of the koruna's stabilization has also been resolved, though not once and for all. Average earnings have risen by over 1,000 korunas a month, we have liberalized wages, and we are working out details of the social security net. These are the achievements of this government that cannot be denied by anyone. We have also resolved the basic condition of the economic space, which is the state [sentence as published]. The domestic market is being organized. After all, 40 percent of our consumption is covered by the domestic market. The administration and protection of the market have gotten well under way. The most complicated operation is facing us now—the attempt to eliminate the payment deficit of all the organizations and harmonize all the financial flows. This is no simple operation; quite the contrary, it entails great risks. Success here will bring the decline of the Slovak economy to a halt.

As for the position of the HZDS.... Of course, here it is necessary to distinguish between executive and legislative power, which strictly respects the rule of proportional representation, with everyone taking part in the drafting of laws. When these laws turn out to be bad, they are the work of the HZDS, when they are good, they are everyone's work or just the opposition's work....

[Rabay] Today your opponents are calling for a government comprising all the parliamentary parties.

[Meciar] A government composed of all the political parties is nonsense. Such a government would not even last three months. Just imagine [Slovak National Party Chairman Ludovit] Cernak and [Coexistence Chairman Miklos] Duray sitting together in that government. Could they conceivably come to an understanding? A coalition government is possible, however. Potential coalition partners are the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. But the SNS's proposal to form a coalition comprising all the parliamentary parties is, in my opinion, just [an expression of] Mr. Cernak's secret effort to get into a coalition with the Hungarian parties and thereby obtain their support for him. This is inconsistent with the SNS program, however....

[Rabay] The term new elections has appeared in a number of statements of late, including your own. The opposition parties are literally speculating on early elections. Should a coalition be formed, and is it conceivable that it could spring up from new elections?

[Meciar] There can be new elections, but there need not be new elections. Parliament needs to be consolidated. The question of the parliamentary political parties' programs is not clear today. For example, only the coming SDL congress will show what kind of a program the SDL will have. The SNS has announced its program just recently. The program of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is a program against us and the Hungarian parties' program is nationalist. Now that the fundamental national-democratic problem has been resolved in Slovakia, the problem of crystallization of a conventional political spectrum comes to the surface. This is the dominant process taking place on the political scene today. The parties are still just seeking their identity. They want to solve this problem by means of elections, which is a mistake. They will not resolve this problem in such a way.

[Rabay] The SDL and the SNS do not seem to be willing to form a coalition with only the HZDS and without elections being held for psychological reasons but, above all, in view of their political interests. The SNS has actually withdrawn from the quiet coalition [with the HZDS]....

[Meciar] The SNS has not withdrawn from any quiet coalition, it was only Cernak solving his personal problems. There is a difference here.

[Rabay] If people's trust in the government is to be restored and the social situation improved, it is high time that people sensed a change for the better in the overall developments. For the time being it is as though the targets toward which Slovakia is heading wanted to flee from it. What do you think could represent such a positive change?

[Meciar] Excuse me, but, from the viewpoint of building up the state, which determines everything else today, the successes of this government are historically gigantic and undeniable....

[Rabay] But these successes will not feed your children. Moreover, social awareness is trailing behind the....

[Meciar] In the short-term, hardly any success, be it domestic or foreign political, will bring about any immediate and significant change in people's awareness. If people knew what kind of activities we have launched in the field of security, for example.... But we cannot talk about them for we would be putting their successful outcome at risk. As for building up the Army, the process of building the independent Slovak Republic is being finalized. The transformation of the health care system is well under way, though it is very painful. The process of transforming the education system is only starting. When it really gets fully under way, it will hurt even more. In the economy it is not enough to just introduce market relations. It is equally necessary to change proprietary relations and the structure of the economy. Financial means are not enough for that. The experts, too, must say which products and sectors have prospects and what will lay the foundations for our prosperity in the next 20 years. Only when this process ends will the citizen see the results. The method of crossing the abyss in one leap does not work. It is necessary to use the honest system of small steps, to climb down and up again in tiny steps. In short, it is tortuous drudgery. The government will either have support in this drudgery or it will not and, in that case, let another government come. It will be dealing with the very same problems, only its methods may differ. But whereas in this government there is a strong social feeling and a strong endeavor to respect democratic principles, often to the government's own detriment, we may live to see also a government of a different type....

[Rabay] What type?

[Meciar] If new elections were called now, we would lose a minimum of four months in which we would not be able to concentrate on bringing about a positive change. Slovakia will grow even weaker. What would the new government do about that? The importance of the HZDS lies in that, thus far, we have been maintaining a balance of the political spectrum both to the right and to the left. If the HZDS departed or if it were to break up, these two groups would clash. The left would emerge weakened from that clash, and also from the economic viewpoint....

[Rabay] And social strife would grow even worse....

[Meciar] No, society would be ruled by an authoritarian regime because the situation would not be sustainable in any other way. A system of political evaluations, screenings, secret police, and anxiety would begin to rule. But there would be law and order. Further social decline would take place but no one would dare offer any resistance. There would be no journalist who would write an article against the government.... Some politicians have such a scenario prepared already....

[Rabay] How do you explain all the present attacks on yourself?

[Meciar] Political forces are tackling their own internal problems by means of attacks on the government.

[Rabay] Together with our readers, I often have the impression that the "I have my own problems and could not care less about anything else" approach has engulfed not only the political parties but society in general. Has this approach also been carried into society precisely from politics?

[Meciar] All the political parties today have a tendency to politicize the state, to form a party system that will gain control of the state. We see this happening in Italy. We are opposed to this. That is another point in which we clash with the other parties rather strongly—in the question of the position of the state, the protection of the state, and the state's independence of the political parties.

[Rabay] How do you want to overcome the system of a party-run state?

[Meciar] To introduce normal conditions in the state, conditions in which democratic and civic institutions keep a watchful eye on it, it is necessary, first and foremost, to pass a new law on political parties. The regulations governing the financing of the political parties must be changed. The instruments of the parties in relation to the state must be reassessed. The parties must not do violence to the state [znasilnovat stat]. State interests must prevail over party interests in practical politics.

[Rabay] Is this to take the form of some kind of a separation of political parties from the state?

[Meciar] Yes. The parties must act independently of the state and the state must maintain its sovereignty over the parties.

[Rabay] If I understand you correctly, the political parties should finally be given the chance not to represent merely the interests of the state apparatus but, first and foremost, the interests of citizens. Do you think that you will win parliamentary support for this?

[Meciar] The HZDS and SDL votes should suffice.

[Rabay] Has the SDL promised these votes?

[Meciar] It basically has.

[Rabay] The other aspect of the present political system in Slovakia is that, in spite of the progressive denationalization of the economy, the state apparatus will apparently continue to strive to control the economy.

[Meciar] Indeed, it must be realized that it is not only that the parties want to control the state but also that the

parties themselves are controlled by someone. They are controlled by certain property groups and certain property interests. Those are the chief factors. Everything else the citizen is told is mere propaganda. A leading politician told me recently: Why do you fiddle so much with the people? All people need is bread and circuses. Give them those and then do as you please. Do you see? This is how people's minds are to be manipulated. Entertain them, throw them something to divert their attention while we divide up the property.

[Rabay] We have actually returned to the problem of a positive change. People are not stupid. Perhaps they would perceive it as a positive impulse if one stopped regarding them as such.

[Meciar] Take note of the pressure being exerted by the opposition at present. Some people want to get into the government very quickly today. They realize that we will bring the situation under control by the end of the year. If they do not jump on the bandwagon now, later they will no longer have an opportunity to do that. In other words, the pressure that is being brought to bear on the government today is not motivated in the least by the interests of the state or by the interest to improve its economy. The reason for this pressure is that the situation is beginning to stabilize in some areas and they see it and do not want to be absent when things start improving.

[Rabay] The issue of privatization is very important from this viewpoint. Wherein does your concept of privatization actually differ from that of the privatization minister?

[Meciar] It differs in speed. I consider the speed of privatization thus far insufficient and unsatisfactory. But, most important of all, it differs in [our ideas concerning] employees' participation in privatization where I advocate a far more liberal approach. I consider privatization to be a means of development and not an end in itself.

[Rabay] But there was the plan to gain from privatization approximately 40 billion korunas with which to revive the economy. This plan somehow contradicts the concept of privatization by employees where privatization yields no proceeds.

[Meciar] That plan is not being put into practice, however. We wanted to replace it by loans, which requires an agreement with the IMF. Because not even this method has come off, we have issued some money—6.3 billion korunas. But what happened? The banks used that money to improve their balance sheets and reinforce their reserves and, once again, none of this money got into circulation. We are facing a dilemma—what should be put in order first, the banks or the enterprises? Should we borrow money to spur development or should we obtain this money by selling companies? Are we going to maintain the existing level of social services and have it covered by the budget or are we going to yield to pressures in the spheres of education and health care and lose our sovereignty as a result of economic collapse? No one is ready to tap his own hidden potentials. Instead, everyone is demagogically exerting pressure on the government, ostensibly in the interest of the population, but in reality to have his own problems resolved.

[Rabay] You have just raised a dilemma—banks or enterprises? Is it the case that the banks have thus far been perhaps the only sector to have profited from the reform?

[Meciar] Well, today we have a punitive credit interest rate of 30 percent. We are getting into a situation where interest rates are higher than the returns on investment. The banks are stifling economic development. But they are stifling even operational funds. Enterprises are getting into a situation where they do not have enough money to produce the goods for which sales are guaranteed. We must overcome this situation.

[Rabay] When will the government appoint the "top banker" [reference to the vacant position of governor of the Slovak National Bank]?

[Meciar] As soon as we find a suitable person. There are two people in Slovakia who could do the job, but neither of them wants it. And none of those who want the job can do it.

[Rabay] You spoke about increasing employees' participation in privatization. The state can profit from employee stock ownership only in the long run. On what economic incentives are you relying today?

[Meciar] Unfortunately, privatization has thus far had a demotivating effect. Some understand it as sellout of national property and others as an opportunity to grow rich quickly. They lead enterprises toward ruin to be able to privatize them more cheaply....

[Rabay] But that is a consequence of the privatization mechanism applied thus far....

[Meciar] Of course. State enterprises, which have become uncontrollable and unmanaged, are establishing so-called subsidiaries with limited liability and milking the parent company. There are a great number of such parasites in Slovakia today. A competitive environment is not being established. There are many relations and linkages here operating in a non-market manner. In other words, first we must restore to health forces that make up the market.

[Rabay] Corruption in its most diverse manifestations is perhaps the greatest social plague today. It is precisely here that people expect the most drastic measures from the government.

[Meciar] Of course, we want to intervene everywhere where sources of corruption arise. We are after businessmen who do not pay taxes. We are taking steps to prevent customs duty evasion, the scale of which is gigantic. We are monitoring—though, for the time being, covertly—flows of money. We seek the creation of a

competitive environment that would discriminate against those who are corrupt. The entire control mechanism of the state must be changed. It is mind-boggling that, when I send some inspectors from the Slovak Government Office somewhere, they get a reception worse than class enemies. The worst thing is when there is anxiety in society. Everyone swears but no one is willing to cooperate. I am thinking about undertaking from the government position some steps, something like a movement for clean hands. A movement for clean hands in political, social, and economic life. If we do not come to terms with it now, this dirty social system will get us in its grip. This poses a greater danger to the government than all the opposition political parties lumped together.

Cernak Responds

AU2405143893 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 93 p 2

["TA SR, pa"-signed report: "He Did Not Deal With His Personal Problems; L. Cernak Reacts to PRAVDA Interview With V. Meciar"]

[Text] Bratislava—"By tasking the opposition with corruption, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar for the first time officially expressed his view of the opposition as an enemy. A strange quality emanates from the thought processes that put the interests of the state above everything, including even democracy."

Slovak National Party Chairman Ludovit Cernak responded with these words to a TA SR question about the interview in this daily with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and carried under the title "Corruption is More Dangerous Than Opposition." The prime minister cast doubts on the Slovak National Party proposal to form a broader coalition, in which all parliamentary parties would be represented. Furthermore, he observed that the Slovak National Party has not left the silent coalition, but this was only Cernak dealing with his personal problems.

Cernak commented on Prime Minister Meciar's statements by saying that by leaving the government he was not dealing with any personal problems. "It was hard to leave the man with whom I collaborated so closely. I could not afford, however, to lose face either as a person, or as a representative of a political party."

Responding to the prime minister casting doubts on the government of all the parliamentary parties and alluding to the cooperation in it between Cernak and Duray, the Slovak National Party chairman said: "The government of such a broad coalition offers a chance of cooperation to each political party. If Mr. Duray accepts a post in such a government, so expressing his agreement with the objectives of its program, I will be happy to sit next to him."

Regarding early elections, the Slovak National Party chairman said that he was not afraid of them. He would even welcome them. They should be called if the conditions are ripe, or parliament ceases to be operational.

Economics Minister Discusses Visit to India

AU2405140993 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 93 p 3

["lr"-signed report: "The Congenial Indian Sphere"]

[Text] Bratislava—Indian business is apparently well disposed towards Slovak production. The interest in large quantities of steel and metallurgical products, synthetic fibers and dyes, compounds, and engineering products, including special production [euphemism for the arms industry] was demonstrated by Indian businessmen and officials to Slovak Economics Minister Kubecka during his five-day visit.

When assessing the opportunities offered by this market at the meeting with reporters upon his return yesterday, the minister even expressed concerns that if they were to purchase all the goods manufactured in the capacities built to cover the needs of the CEMA [Council of Mutual Economic Assistance], it could lead to a technical retardation of production. Moreover, the current trade balance already shows a high surplus in Slovakia's favor. Hence, one of the reasons for the visit was the settlement of last year's clearing surplus to the tune of approximately 2.9 billion rupees (914 million Slovak korunas). After all, India has lots to offer. Tropical cotton, for instance, or natural Indian silk and other raw materials. Future trade with this country is governed by a new trade and payments treaty. Payments will be made in convertible currency but alternative forms of trade—such as leasing and barter—have not been ruled out. Most of the businessmen with whom Kubecka negotiated, however, offer direct payments in convertible currency in the new deals, such as the construction of a 500-kilometer oil pipeline.

Kovac Comments on National Bank

AU2405204993 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 May 93 p 1

[Karol Hudec report: "In the Bank of Issue"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— President Michal Kovac paid an official visit to the Slovak National Bank [NBS] yesterday afternoon. [passage omitted]

As the president told reporters after the visit, at the meeting with NBS representatives he obtained information on the level of the NBS's activity and its main tasks and priorities. The discussion also concerned the population's foreign exchange deposits. In this context, the president proposed that the NBS work toward the adoption of measures that would make it possible to raise the level of these deposits. Another, though not secondary, issue discussed was participation by the NBS in increasing Slovakia's economic growth. The central bank must choose such steps in its activity as will stimulate

economic growth, he said. According to the president's words, commercial banks must adjust their interest rates so that they are not a brake on development. The NBS, in cooperation with commercial banks, must use, as a yardstick of its success, not the level of profits but the growth of the Slovak economy. Though the high interest rates boost the commercial banks' profits, they bring about economic decline. If no corrective action is taken, administrative measures will have to be applied, such as are known also in market economies. The president stressed that banks cannot behave in a strictly market-conform manner as long as there exists no stable capital market and no stable market economy.

Michal Kovac put forward a number of proposals, which, according to NBS Vice Governor Marian Tkac, will be gradually incorporated into the bank's activity. [passage omitted]

Kubecka Confirms Plans for Import Surcharge

AU2505122793 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 22 May 93

[Excerpt] Prague, May 22 (CTK)—The Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES today carries an interview with Slovak Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka, who comments on an import surcharge Slovakia plans to introduce in the near future. Kubecka says that the import surcharge will concern primarily foodstuffs and consumer goods, and that for Czech importers it will mean that the prices of their goods on the Slovak market will increase considerably.

Kubecka stresses, however, that given the temporary nature of the measure, he does not expect a noticeable drop in Czech-Slovak trade.

Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy, reacting to the planned move by Slovakia, says in the same paper that the Czech Republic's stand on import surcharge will largely depend on whether Slovakia adopts a positive stand towards the Czech Republic in its future economic policy. Dlouhy allows for the possibility of a disagreement with the introduction of the import surcharge by Slovakia on the part of the Czech Republic which might complicate the two republics' relations within the customs union. [passage omitted]

DER SPIEGEL Confirms Meciar Remarks

AU2405152693 Prague CTK in English 0818 GMT 21 May 93

[Excerpt] Prague, May 21 (CTK)—The Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES frontpages a statement in which the authors of an interview with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar published in the latest issue of the German weekly DER SPIEGEL deny any distortion of Meciar's words.

In the interview Meciar said that the Czechs should not forget that all the energy they receive comes through Slovakia. If there were a break in the supply of oil, they wouldn't last more than ten days. This has led the Czech Foreign Ministry to send a note to Slovakia, while Premier Vaclav Klaus said on Wednesday [19 May] that Meciar's comments were spoken a little bit differently than was reported in our media.

MLADA FRONTA DNES recalls that Klaus said that the statement had been published in Czech papers out of context and that journalists were playing a dirty game with Meciar.

The authors of the interview, Olaf Ihlau and Martin Pollack, told MLADA FRONTA DNES on Thursday [20 May] that the wording of the interview as it was published by the magazine, was authorized by Premier Meciar's office in Bratislava on May 14.

They added that they had repeated their question concerning the suspension of oil supplies and that Meciar confirmed the formulation of his reply. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Proposal on Danube Talks Rejected

LD2205125893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Bratislava has rejected a Hungarian proposal to hold tripartite talks on the Danube interim water management regime this weekend when the Gabcikovo hydroproject and Maly Zitny ostrov region will be visited by EC experts. This was announced in Budapest today by Gyorgy Tatar, the ministerial envoy for Gabcikovo affairs. According to him, the reason the Slovak side gave for the rejection was that it had not been given authorization by the government. The Hungarian side expressed surprise over Bratislava's stance and noted that the state secretaries of the Hungarian and Slovak ministries of foreign affairs, Janos Martonyi and Jan Lisuch, had agreed in March that the talks should start in mid-April.

Gyorgy Tatar also expressed dissatisfaction with the water management documentation that the Slovak side had delivered to the Hungarian side.

'Big Privatization' Launched With Credit

LD2105213593 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] A project was launched in Slovakia today designed to set big privatization in motion by way of the new emission of Slovak currency. Alexandr Picha reports from Bratislava.

[Begin Picha recording] The prepared project was finally signed today by Minister for Privatization Lubomir Dolgos, and Marian Tkac, vice governor of the National Bank of Slovakia. According to them, so far this is a unique method of promoting big privatization. The National Bank of Slovakia will release a several billion emission of money to Slovak commercial bank accounts, that in this way will acquire resources to provide credit

to finance privatization. The National Property Fund will guarantee that this money is not used for any other purposes. The new emission will enter circulation only in the form of repayments of credits used to finance privatization of enterprises.

Slovak financial experts believe that this kind of new emission of Slovak currency will not cause inflation. The size of the emission will be guided by the requirements of credits for big privatization and, according to Vice Governor Tkac, should amount to between 6 and 10 billion korunas. The rate of inflation should correspond to the so-called neutral monetary policy pursued by the Meciar government.

Marian Tkac said that Slovakia does not envisage a devaluation vis-a-vis the Czech koruna. Apart from this emission, more than 8 billion of Slovak korunas should be in Slovak banks in support of those debt-ridden Slovak enterprises whose long-term prospects are, however, deemed to be good. [end recording]

Parliament Approves Amendment to Bankruptcy Law

AU2405152993 Prague CTK in English 1957 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Bratislava [dateline as received]—The Slovak Parliament passed an amendment to the bankruptcy law today which enables bankruptcy terms to be negotiated between the debtor and the creditor trying to salvage the operation.

The new law gives a board of creditors three months to submit a salvage project. During the discussion preceding the vote, some deputies pointed out that some of the government's responsibility would be passed onto creditors and that, contrary to what had been intended, the amended law would not help revive economic transformation.

The new law was also criticised for siding with domestic creditors, which might cast a shadow on Slovakia as a place with good business environment.

Monthly Wages Rise in First Quarter

AU2405144593 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 May 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Wages and Employment Have Increased"]

[Text] The Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family yesterday informed TA SR that the average monthly nominal wage in the Slovak Republic during the first quarter of this year amounted to 4,752 korunas. This is an increase of 808 korunas, or 20.5 percent, compared with the same period last year. A more significant increase in wages payable [mzdove prostriedky] was achieved in the non-entrepreneurial sector, where they amounted to some 1.37 billion korunas. This is 29.2 percent more than in the same period of 1992. This increase was partially caused by the rise in employment. The number of employees in this sphere has increased by 12,100, or 2.9 percent. Most people found work in public administration, defense, and social security, which represents an increase of 13.7 percent.

Jeszenszky on EC Membership, NATO, Minorities

BR2505104593 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 19-20 May 93 p 4

[Article by "FDP": "Hungarian Minister Jeszenszky: We Are Well Placed for EC"]

[Text] Brussels—Hungary has a strong historic bond with Western Europe, and also meets the conditions to join the EC in many fields, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stated during a news conference in Brussels. The minister is aware that it will take a few years before serious negotiations on accession can start, "but it is extremely important, especially for our public opinion, to create a clear picture as from today."

Minister Jeszenszky cautiously observes that Western Europe, in the euphoria of 1989 and 1990, made promises that it did not always keep. "We hope that Western Europe wants to be more than merely a neo-Carolingian empire, and that it will not miss the opportunity to open up new horizons. Naturally, much will depend on the EC's further internal development and on the economy. The present slump does not encourage integration."

"However, one should not forget that Central and Eastern Europe are important potential markets for the EC. A prior condition is that we must be capable of exporting sufficient quantities in order to finance our imports. That way, more prosperity will be created for all of Europe."

Minister Jeszenszky is pleased with the guarantees offered by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner last Monday during his visit to NATO Headquarters at Evere. "The Hungarian public is concerned about the events at its southern border. Many Hungarians still remember the disappointment of 1956, when—in their view—the West remained passive. Now people are hearing threats and refugee stories about atrocities every day, which adds to the feeling of insecurity. The conflict areas in the Balkans are close to our borders, and there are all sorts of irregular troops in the area. Woerner helped reduce that fear."

Minorities

However, the Hungarians have to be very cautious in that area. "For obvious reasons, we cannot participate in a UN peace-keeping force," the minister says. Indeed, Budapest fears the consequences for the 400,000 Hungarians living in Vojvodina, the northern part of Serbia. "We do have policemen in the UN forces in Angola and Cambodia; it is a question of task assignment. It should not be forgotten, either, that the embargo against Yugoslavia costs us $0.5 billion (16 billion Belgian francs) in lost income."

New States

The ethnic Hungarians in the neighboring countries—more than 3 million in all—constitute a major issue in Hungarian foreign policy. "Five of our neighboring countries are new states, and this offers many opportunities. We have already concluded cooperation agreements with Croatia and Slovenia. In the treaty with Ukraine, Hungary's border with this new neighbor is guaranteed; in addition, guarantees are offered to the Hungarian minority of around 200,000 people. We made proposals to Slovakia and Romania, which have 600,000 and 2 million ethnic Hungarians, respectively, to conclude similar treaties. In addition, the Hungarian Parliament is about to adopt a new law on minorities."

"However, for the time being, these neighbors are reluctant to cooperate. It takes at least two days for a truck to cross the border between Hungary and Romania. There are only five border crossings along the Hungarian-Romanian border. We hope that the EC will be able to contribute to opening up these borders," Minister Jeszenszky said.

He will have to deal with opposition in his own country, because the Hungarian nationalists fiercely oppose the treaty with Ukraine, which is considered "treason" toward the Hungarian minority. They want to avoid, in treaties with Slovakia and Romania, referring to Hungary's border as final. "Eventually, the solution lies in regional and European integration, with a strong decentralization and protection of minorities," Minister Jeszenszky said. He hinted that "territorial self-government" for the minorities might be a solution. However, this claim is precisely regarded by Bratislava and Bucharest as a preamble to secession.

Defense Minister Views Army Modernization

AU2405180093 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 May 93 p 7

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Zoltan Vereckei; place and date not given: "We Must Modernize the Army as Soon as Possible"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vereckei] Is this country really capable of maintaining an army of 100,000 troops? All the more so because, while budget allocations are not expected to increase considerably in the coming years, your ministry is urging military technology developments.

[Fur] Hungary's internal situation is only one factor. The degree of the threat is another. If we forget any of these factors in our evaluation, we will get an incorrect result. In other words, it is not enough to consider only our economic situation and, in the meantime, to forget that we could be attacked tomorrow (of course, this is not the case, I only come up with a scenario). In such a case, we must exceed our rational capabilities and we must mobilize all our resources in order to defend ourselves. If an animal attacks me, I will not complain about the small size of my stick but I will seek a larger one.

[Vereckei] According to the recently adopted basic security principles, Hungary does not have to fear the danger

of a total war; at most, we might face an insurgence or breakthrough of smaller armed groups. Therefore, both the lack of funds and a low degree of threat call for a decrease in Army personnel.

[Fur] Those who deal with the size of the Army forget one more thing; that this Army decreased by more than 50,000 troops in three years. No such reduction of army personnel has been carried out anywhere in Europe. This is a sensitive issue, and not only because people must be fired, but also because the Army must continue to function during its reorganization. Nor does anyone mention the fact that this Army of 100,000 troops actually has only 76,000 armed men; the others are civilian employees. [passage omitted]

[Vereckei] To be honest, I still do not understand you: You admit that there is no money, but you want to develop the Army nevertheless. How?

[Fur] Partly from the expected Russian exports worth $800 million. Converted into forints, this sum is equivalent to the Army's annual budget. We should also consider the possibility of starting a gradual modernization by means of various long-term credits, or perhaps not always with brand new equipment, but used, which is considerably cheaper. There are realistic chances for this in the long term. Third, we could use cooperation solutions: cooperation between domestic and foreign industrial and military industry firms. Of course, both the government and the Parliament will also have to examine this issue, because this is an issue of national importance. [passage omitted]

[Vereckei] Mr. Fur! Rumors emerged recently about the Hungarian Government asking NATO for air-defense weapons. Although these rumors have already been denied officially, we would still be glad to have your opinion.

[Fur] No one will ever find any written document attesting to a request from the Hungarian Government for air-defense missiles from NATO; not even the future generations. It is another matter that, obviously, these things are discussed at confidential meetings and talks everywhere. Thus, everything can come up in discussions, from missiles and F-16 fighters to Swedish combat aircraft. However, this is far from being an official request or demand, or even official negotiations.

[Vereckei] Speculation on possible membership in NATO has again emerged recently. What is your opinion of the chances of such membership?

[Fur] Reaching membership status is illusory at the moment. We should not set such a goal, because there are no bases for this on either side. However, in the long term, we are definitely striving for such membership. [passage omitted]

[Vereckei] I heard this from a politician, namely that the ominous article in the recent Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty was the price for the Hungarian Government to drive in a wedge between the Slovaks and the Romanians.

[Fur] If you mean the Little Entente, there is no need to drive in a wedge. The wedge is naturally there; we were not the ones who put it there: It appeared in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

[Vereckei] In connection with the defense bill, there is a point that has already caused great debate; the border police issue. If you do not mind, I would like to confront you with one of your previous statements in which you said that the border police, or more precisely its border control unit, should belong to the Defense Ministry.

[Fur] Yes, I do not deny this. However, think of the fact that the atmosphere was quite calm around Hungary when I said this in 1990, and no conflict was threatening us from any direction. Today, however, we have a whole Yugoslav issue here, and this convinced me that it would nevertheless be better for the interior minister also to have border police units. Thus, in the case of a smaller conflict, it is enough to deploy an action unit. This looks different from having the Army deployed along the borders, and would probably be enough to avoid the escalation of a smaller conflict. [passage omitted]

[Vereckei] Although not without antecedents, last week's rather unexpected development was that the government abolished the independent Military Industry Office and put it under the jurisdiction of the Industry Ministry. Rumors emerged earlier that the Defense Ministry wanted to incorporate this office.

[Fur] Except for during wartime, military industry has never been in the hands of the Defense Ministry in Hungary. We did not have such endeavors this time, either. The government abolished the Military Industry Office because there were a lot of parallels between the ministries and the activity of this office. In addition, the various parallels further perplexed the situation through other personal conflicts. Order had to be made here. [passage omitted]

Antall Leaves for Visit to Denmark

LD2305153893 Budapest MTI in English 1455 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, accompanied by his wife, left for an official visit to Denmark on Sunday.

Members of the official Hungarian delegation are the secretary of state of the Ministry of Agriculture, Laszlo Medgyasszay, the secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry, Janos Martonyi, the secretary of state of the Prime Minister's Office, Endre Marinovich, the prime minister's cabinet chief, Gyula Kodolanyi, chief foreign policy advisor of the prime minister, and deputy secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry, Janos Herman, spokesman.

Hungary's Ambassador to Denmark, Laszlo Demus, is to join the prime minister's party in Copenhagen.

During his visit, Antall is to hold talks with his host, Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, and with leaders of the Danish parliament, the Folketing.

Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, and her husband, Prince Henrik, are to host a lunch in honour Prime Minister and Mrs Antall.

Antall is also scheduled to meet with representatives of Hungarians living in Denmark.

Suchocka: Government Cannot Give In to Pressure

LD2405180593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said during today's meeting with journalists that it is impossible for the government to give in to the pressure exerted by the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. The government is ready for talks but it cannot give in under the conditions which have the nature of an ultimatum. There are certain limits of compromise which we must not cross, the prime minister stated. She added that the conditions put forward by certain political parties, including a call for amendments in the strict budget, cannot be met by the government. Suchocka stressed that the government cannot give in to pressure from the Democratic Left Alliance under this condition. She added that the government has not held any talks with the Left so far. She said that the cabinet learns about the conditions put forward by the Left only from the mass media.

SLD Demands Rejected

LD2405211093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 24 May 93

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has rejected a demand for amendments to the budget, on which the Democratic Left Alliance's [SLD] support for the government depends. During a meeting with newspapers, radio, and television station editors, the prime minister said the government is ready for talks with the opposition but will not fulfill its categorical demands.

The political commission of the main board of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] made its support for the government dependent on the government coalition agreeing to an amendment to the budget to take into account demands of the public sector employees.

[Begin Suchocka recording] This condition cannot be met by this government at all because this budget, which is so strict, is part of the government's vision of what course to follow. We are ready for talks, but only for talks. We cannot give in to various demands or ultimatums. And this is a clear limit of this government's actions. [end recording]

[Announcer] The prime minister said the government is not going to postpone a vote on the no-confidence motion which has been tabled by Solidarity. She added that her cabinet cannot work in a state of insecurity that is paralyzing its work.

SLD Leader Comments on Government Crisis

WS2405120093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 24 May 93

[Studio interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Left Democratic Union, by correspondent Andrzej Wojciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Wojciechowski] Can you say a few words about the conditions that are not the conditions... [Wojciechowski changes thought] ..the amending of the budget?

[Kwasniewski] No, what we want is to resolve the problems of the state budget-financed employees. I think that today it is possible only by amending the budget, which, however, does not necessarily entail increasing the budget deficit. We hear that surpluses are possible, which has been confirmed by the minister of finance, as well as by the forecasts of the Central Planning Administration. Therefore, it would perhaps be worthwhile to discuss these possible surpluses and the manner of solving the problems of the budget-financed employees—that is, the employees in the education and health care sector. We also believe we should discuss the return to or the reform of the law on how the salaries of the budget-financed employees are determined. In other words, we should try to find a solution.

[Wojciechowski] Does this solution entail raises for teachers and physicians? Is the SLD [Left Democratic Union] going to demand such raises for teachers and physicians?

[Kwasniewski] There is no doubt that we are going to demand more resources for the entire sector of education and health care. While we were discussing the budget, we also said that the calculation of the outlays was not actually acceptable, and that these people were being threatened by a catastrophe. Now this catastrophe has taken place. Moreover, the entire situation of these people is false; they ... [Kwasniewski changes thought] ...they are living on debts. They are having to borrow money; they are not paying their bills. Therefore, I think that the time has come to start discussing possible resolutions for this problem.

[Wojciechowski] The next of the conditions quoted by today's newspapers concerns new investments that would augment Polish production. What is it about?

[Kwasniewski] What we would like here are not new investments alone. We want a change in the economic policy in general; we want an anti-recession policy. We believe that the credit system should be changed; that is, first of all, the investment credit should be more accessible, because it is going to be a great impulse; it is going to offer the possibilities of development, creating new places of work, production, and so on. This vehicle is controlled by the government and by the central bank. However, it is also controlled by the parliament; in this

sense we, as the parliamentary opposition, would support concepts that would take those changes into account.

[Wojciechowski] The next condition entails the resolution of the housing problem. Do you believe that the government will solve the housing problem within two days?

[Kwasniewski] Of course I do not. I said I did not believe this. However, out of malice I could say that in 1980, the 21 points submitted by Solidarity included a demand on regulating housing matters. All the oppositionists of the time—today's authorities—backed the demand. Well, anyway, I am not that spiteful. What we mean here is the housing policy, the very concept. We also want one very urgent problem to be solved: the empty apartments, which have already been built, and whose maintenance has to be paid for anyway, cannot be made accessible because the concept of loaning money to the housing societies is simply nonsensical. We think that this problem must be solved, because its consequences for the people are only negative. This would be an opportunity to improve the situation.

[Wojciechowski] I am still reading the list of the conditions concerning a limitation of the outlays of the administration. Does this go for Chrzanowski's Mercedes?

[Kwasniewski] You know, I would not make such a fuss about this Mercedes. All the more so, because I think that Speaker Chrzanowski is so busy with the essential problems that he does not distinguish a Polonez from a Mercedes. I would list the following issues: the considerable buildup of state administration, which has been going on since 1989; the new concepts of the development of this administration, for example the administrative districts which will create another level of government administration. I believe that all this should be considerably limited. If, instead of discussing the money, we discussed the quality of this administration, then I would have to say that it is really mediocre. Therefore, the requirements should be related to the possible financial [word indistinct] undoubtedly the limitations in the state administration must be one of the most fundamental elements. There should be a reduction in the number of ministries; there are ministries whose functions are petering out, such as the Ministry of Industry and Trade. There should be one joint Ministry of Economy. I could list many more points. However, I think that this point would be the easiest to satisfy if it were truly taken seriously and not just discussed.

[Wojciechowski] What does the next demand of the left wing mean? That is, the one which says that cadre policy should be based on substantive and not ideological qualifications.

[Kwasniewski] This means that we do not agree with what is happening in this area. A great deal of experts, who, because of their opinions or their former political activities, are being withdrawn and replaced by styrofoam colleagues, or colleagues from a single political persuasion. However, they are very often not qualified for their new functions. I believe that one of the greatest problems faced by successive governments boils down to the lack of an expert cadre; they are recalled to be replaced not by equally qualified people, but by people from within a circle of friends. As people often say about the authorities, the Poland of buddies is, unfortunately, increasingly pervasive.

[Woyciechowski] And the last condition that the SLD seemed to demand guarantees for—surprising many—was broader access to the mass media.

[Kwasniewski] Undoubedtly, we want this access, which we see as a condition for normalcy—the largest Sejm grouping should have the chance to publicize its activities and interpret various political developments. Frequently, we do not get this chance, even though we have no right to complain about Radio Zet. This is not a condition, but we cannot accept the situation where an anonymous deputy puts forth a precondition for negotiations. We perceive access to the media to be an element of normalcy that should be always present in Poland. On the other hand, it makes no sense to demand this from the government, which has no direct leverage in this sphere. Nor does it have this leverage as far as the issue of early elections is concerned. This may be the topic of our possible talks with the coalition partners. A decision on this matter can only be made by the legislature, not by the government.

[Woyciechowski] Before we get to the elections, I would like to ask when you, the SLD leader, were last invited to speak on television?

[Kwasniewski] Unlike in last year, when I was virtually suspended from television, I have recently been on the air fairly often. But we never were admitted to such an important program as is Only on One, also hosted by you. This situation is hard to understand. Also, we hoped that we could present our standpoint on mass privatization and the national investment funds legislation in the Letters On Economy program. Again, no one was interested in us. So we have the feeling that many of our significant proposals are being sidelined to the margins of radio and television attention. We can feel some kind of a invisible hand here.

[Woyciechowski] Can the SLD's possible vote of confidence in the Suchocka government, expected to take place on Thursday or Friday, be affected by presence of the ZChN [Christian National Union] in the coalition?

[Kwasniewski] We treat this government simply as a government of the Polish Republic, and have an impartial attitude toward the ZChN's presence in it. I believe that it is up to the government and the prime minister herself to make a resolute decision about whether it is better to seek support among rational and predictable groups, which firmly adhere to their views, or to try to preserve at any cost the coalition with the ZChN, which is characterized by the present performance of ministers on the one hand, and on the other hand by the ZChN's

participation in the provocative nationalistic and anti-immigration demonstration in Cracow. It turns out that this party has come to terms with extremist groups, and stages such demonstrations together with them. Moreover, since the ZChN's position and behavior in the Sejm are a far cry from those displayed by other coalition members, Prime Minister Suchocka should carefuly consider what is important for her today and what might be important tomorrow, as well as what political system we want to have in the future. These decisions does not depend on us, either. However, we view all the ZChN's defiant actions and declarations as immature, because they block many solutions, while earning very little public support. In GAZETA WYBORCZA, Mr. Goryszewski even invoked God to explain his reluctance to admit the SLD to the negotiations, but several pages later the same paper published an article revealing that half of society sees no harm in the SLD's stronger influence in the government.

[Woyciechowski] Why does the SLD want the elections to take place as early as next spring? Is that because it will win more votes in the spring than several months later?

[Kwasniewski] Our party was the first to bring up the issue of early elections, which was taken with a grain of salt by many at the time. Now, it is hard to find a party, except for the ZChN, perhaps, that would not talk about it. You can take it for a fact that the current political situation is approaching a certain showdown, and its enormous complexity makes it impossible to form anything stable. So elections are without a doubt the only weapon in the political arsenal that is capable of altering things. In addition, if such elections were accompanied by local ones, it would save us a lot of money and arouse people's interest in the latter. The elections also might put the political situation in order, naturally based on the new electoral system, which could produce a new government that would last more than just 10 months.

[Woyciechowski] And again, I would like to go back to the question that I asked you in the beginning and you declined to answer: How likely is the SLD to make a decision on Wednesday night in favor of confidence in the Suchocka government?

[Kwasniewski] There are various dilemmas around this issue, calling for different ways of reasoning. I believe there are two elements which are the most essential to this decision. First, the feedback from our electorate, which we will know tomorrow night. Second, the position of the government—whether or not it will start any kind negotiations. We will make a decision based on these two factors.

[Woyciechowski] Are you in position today to state categorically that if government representatives do not start negotiations until Wednesday evening, the SLD will vote against confidence in the Suchocka government?

[Kwasniewski] This would be caused then by the government's behavior. Unless some extraordinary event occurs—although I very much doubt it. In my opinion, there is no way for us to vote for the government without negotiations.

[Woyciechowski] Will the SLD abstain or vote "no" in the no-confidence vote if the negotiations end successfully or the electorate's reaction is positive?

[Kwasniewski] You are going too deep. The SLD legislative committee will decide on this. Both options would be supportive of the government, so I would not go into this in any great detail. We face the most profound decision, whether to support this governemnt at all or simply wait and see. The latter carries certain accompanying risks—it is anyone's guess what might happen after the Suchocka government goes. This is a measure of responsibility which all of us would assume during the vote.

[Woyciechowski] Does the SLD risk losing some of its electorate in the next legislative elections by standing by the Suchocka government? Do you not fear this?

[Kwasniewski] Of course, we do. Our actions should be clear to our electorate. This is why I brought up this media access issue. Naturally, they have no insight into the political games taking place in the Sejm's lobbies. This all is very complicated. Let us see—we still have quite some time until next spring. Besides, if the negotiations did take place, and some of our proposals were accepted, the public reaction would be favorable and we could tell our electorate that a solid job was wrapped up. I have repeatedly said that we are not in the opposition just for the opposition's sake. We are the opposition in specific situations, and are interested in solving problems. We will support all possible solutions that would push things forward in Poland.

Suchocka's Secretary on Political Situation

WS2505092693 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 25 May 93

[Studio interview with Prime Minister's Secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski by Andrzej Woyciechowski; date not given; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Milewski] I am a little late, because I was running. The traffic jams are terrible. I hope the listeners won't hear that I still cannot catch my breath.

[Woyciechowski] I think that you are late because your consultations and negotiations lasted all night. Would you tell us about them? What was Ms. Suchocka doing yesterday after 2000?

[Milewski] The prime minister did not hold any consultations or negotiations yesterday after 2000. She left the office carrying a lot of documents. I hope that she quickly looked through them and that she had at least a six-hour sleep, like I did.

[Woyciechowski] As far as we know, although our information may not be precise, Prime Minister Suchocka

met the Democratic Union leadership—Professor Geremek, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and some others.

[Milewski] There was such a meeting, indeed. However, I would rather call it a dinner. Your information is precise.

[Woyciechowski] Did they talk about the coalition, voting, the Democratic Leftist Union [SLD], and these kinds of things?

[Milewski] I can only presume, because I was not there. I presume they did talk about these things. I believe that people have been talking about these things in every Polish home whose inhabitants take an interest in politics. I do not think that there are many homes of this kind, though. People talk about these things. [as heard]

[Woyciechowski] What is Prime Minister Suchocka doing today? What is the Polish prime minister's schedule?

[Milewski] The first and the most important thing today is the Council of Ministers session. These sessions are held on Tuesdays. Today there will be a session as well. I do not quite understand the existing atmosphere. Different high-level government officials have denied allegations about the vote of no-confidence being the only and the most important thing determining the government's actions these days; that this is the only issue being discussed these days; that sessions are being convened and backstage talks are being held. This is not correct. The government is working, and as long as it remains in power, it will carry out its program and perform its routine functions. Tuesday sessions are among its routine proceedings, and a session will be held today.

[Woyciechowski] The Council of Ministers will hold a session, and the session will most probably discuss what some newspapers term the SLD's conditions, and what others call issues to be negotiated with the SLD. Do you think that a suggestion to meet the SLD and hold negotiations has been made by the coalition or by the government? Who should make these kinds of decisions?

[Milewski] In my opinion, the decision must be made by the coalition, and this should be done at the initiative of the coalition's leaders, Prime Minister Suchocka, in the first place. Speaking of the Council of Ministers, I have here their program, and I think that your suppositions are erroneous. This issue is not on the agenda.

[Woyciechowski] Does it ever happen that the Council of Ministers includes additional issues on the agenda?

[Milewski] This happens very seldom. There is an entire procedure of preparations for sessions. Only well-prepared issues can be discussed there. Thus, what you said normally does not happen....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Is the Council of Ministers a kind of forum that discusses less important issues at official sessions, and the most important things are discussed in the lobby during a coffee break?

[Milewski] I must disappoint you again. There are no coffee breaks. This happens very seldom, only when the sessions last very long. The current government holds its sessions very quickly. We have even had a couple of records, maybe not on the world scale but by all means on the Polish scale. Thus, there are not many breaks. However, there is a procedure called free motions, just like at any principal meeting and there can be such....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] But seriously, does this mean that there is no chance that the Council of Ministers will make any decision with regard to the vote of no-confidence and negotiations with the SLD?

[Milewski] The Council of Ministers will by no means make such a decision. However, the coalition is going to meet today. Perhaps, its members, aside from routine discussions of the next Sejm session, will debate not only negotiations with the SLD, but also possible talks with all factions. I would like to recall something. On Monday, before the issue of the no-confidence vote was submitted to the Sejm, Prime Minister Suchocka made a public offer.

[Woyciechowski] Do you mean her television address on the nonaggression pact?

[Milewski] You may put it this way. I would like to specify that she meant talks on the most pressing issues in Poland today. A certain political schedule could be drafted on the basis of these talks with regard to the future elections.

[Woyciechowski] Was Ms. Suchocka's offer addressed to the opposition? Has there been any response to it?

[Milewski] I think that public speeches can be regarded a response. Aside from these, there was no direct response to this offer. You know that people communicate through newspapers, the radio, and the television in this country. There is much commotion. Time and again, we see denials and responses to denials. The newspapers perform the function of a transmitter that causes interference.

[Woyciechowski] Do you not want to repeat what you famous predecessor used to say: that it is all the newspapers' and journalists' fault?

[Milewski] On the contrary, I believe that they should take credit for many good things.

[Woyciechowski] You said that the meeting of the coalition partners, scheduled for today, may decide to start negotiating with other parties to seek support for the Suchocka government. Could you say which parties?

[Milewski] I did not say that much. I only said that the coalition would definitely consider this issue.

[Woyciechowski] Is it possible at all to find another ally in the Sejm? If so, who could this be?

[Milewski] I have to repeat once again what I have said before: this is a sweeping offer that embraces everyone. The government is absolutely open to any negotiations. Let me remind you what Prime Minister Suchocka publicly said once, and which I heard on Radio Zet today while breaking through that horrible traffic jam to your studio. She said that the government is ready for negotiations, but it will not talk when someone puts forth preconditions for talks in the form of an ultimatum.

[Woyciechowski] What are these preconditions? Since the dramatic headlines of some of today's morning papers say that the government will not bow to the SLD's [Left Democratic Union] pressure, what does the government see as being an ultimatum?

[Milewski] The government sees as an ultimatum the following statement: We are ready to support the government provided, however, that it will pledge to alter the budget legislature. The government cannot do this for at least two reasons. First, the Suchocka government conducted negotiations several times with the PL [Peasants' Accord], then its ally, and trade union activists from the budget-financed industry branches, which all demanded changes in the state budget. If it backed down now, this would prove that it has no concept, program, or any other reason to stay in power. Second, the government cannot yield now just because it has no money. Even worse, this money could not be printed—the bank rejects the idea and the URM [Office of the Council of Ministers] has no printing machine. Even if it had one, I am sure Prime Minister Suchocka would never order it to be used. Uncovered money would ruin the economy.

[Woyciechowski] Why is it so difficult to make a decision to meet with the SLD leaders? What is it that the government could lose or gain in meeting with them? Why is it so difficult to start negotiations?

[Milewski] I am not so sure that it is so difficult. If anything, the difficult thing is the fact that the public—whether right or not, we will find out within the next hours or days—widely holds the notion that the SLD sets its conditions. It might not, but it remains yet to be determined. I am holding a PAP [Polish Press Agency] wire that includes Aleksander Kwasniewski's comment on the television statement by Prime Minister Suchocka, which he made yesterday evening. He said that these certainly were not conditions, but topics for negotiations, and that the SLD was ready for such negotiations. The problems is, however, that it was PAP once again—it may not be a newspaper, but...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Journalists just want to help politicians as much as they can. Could you again try to answer the question why it is so difficult to seek support from the SLD?

[Milewski] I got the impression that I already tried to answer this question, even though I am not sure I am able to answer it precisely. But since you insist, I will try again. The government can talk only about real problems of Poland, such as the Pact on Enterprise, certain economic solutions, etc. The main thing here is to talk about specific issues. However, the government cannot discuss the fundamentals of its policy, because its task is to implement them. And this issue of where the line on concessions is drawn—the government cannot talk about it. The government wants to focus on the cooperation between parties that would eliminate the risk of random decisions, which happens once every two weeks and resembles the tossing of a coin. The negotiations that it would like to conduct would generate solutions, agreements, or peaceful coexistence of both coalition and noncoalition parties—so that the fate of Poland does not hinge on the absence of some deputy in the Sejm because he did not make it in time for the vote or is currently eating his lunch.

[Woyciechowski] Will Suchocka call Kwasniewski today or tomorrow?

[Milewski] I think that even Kwasniewski does not want it. I remember his interview yesterday on the Radio Zet, where he said he did not insist on this.

[Woyciechowski] At her press conference with journalists yesterday, Ms. Suchocka estimated the chances of her government surviving at 50 percent. Does this estimation already include support from the SLD?

[Milewski] I do not think that this was a precise calculation. It was supposed to mean that the government, while still keeping in mind the risk of resignation, does not intend to trade the main provisions of its program.

[Woyciechowski] Does the government want to survive?

[Milewski] Even more—it has a will to survive.

Blocked Convoys Receive UN Permission To Proceed

AU2105121993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 21 May 93

[Doina Saiciuc report from foreign ministry headquarters]

[Text] On 19 May Romania has received the accord of the UN Security Council Sanctions Committee allowing a number of vessels detained by Romanian authorities for not complying with the stipulations of UN Security Council Resolution 820, among them several Ukrainian vessels, to continue their journey on the Danube River. The accord also mentions new emergency procedures [as heard].

Romanian Foreign Ministry sources have revealed the fact that the Ukrainian ships blocked at Calafat harbor have already been granted permission to continue their journey with destination Reni, Ismail [Ukraine]. Danube shipping of the convoys from Galati to the Iron Gates is being currently reorganized according to the new system. We would like to remind you that the emergency procedure has been approved by the 724 Committee [as heard] after the insistence of the Romanian delegation in New York [United Nations] which was instructed to do so by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As it is known, yesterday Rome was the venue of the signing of the memorandum concerning an accord between Romania and the West European Union [WEU]—we wish to remind that similar documents were signed in Rome with Hungary and Bulgaria, too—with respect to the assistance to be granted by that organization for the reinforcement of the [FRY] embargo to countries bordering the Danube River.

Related to that issue I have asked Marcel Dinu, state secretary of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to detail that agreement with special respect to allegations circulated by the Belgrade press, according to which the WEU speedboats are to be equipped with light weapons and manned by officers.

State Secretary Marcel Dinu has confirmed the fact that those boats are to be civilian vessels which are not equipped with any kind of weapons. Romanian customs officials in the company of those teams will be permitted to carry pistols, strictly to their personal defense, which are part of their uniform. The carrying of such pistols is to be strictly limited to the period of their mission.

Concerning the term officer, it was merely used to observe WEU terminology concerning its order-keeping structures. The WEU mission on the Danube River is to be composed of officers of the Italian financial oversight body and German border police, and not of military personnel.

Vacaroiu, Neev Discuss UN Embargo Against FRY

AU2105201693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/5/1993—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received Friday, May 21 at the Victory Palace (seat of Romanian Government) Neycho Neev, Bulgarian deputy prime minister and minister of transports, chairman ad-interim of the Bulgarian Committee for Energy and head of the Romanian-Bulgarian Joint Governmental Commission, who is on a visit to Romania.

The Romanian premier expressed his satisfaction over the evolution of the relations between Romania and Bulgaria. He pointed out that the good cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria was also reflected by the setting up of 60 joint Romanian-Bulgarian companies.

Neycho Neev voiced his satisfaction over the signing of the Romanian-Bulgarian understanding on transports and expressed his conviction that both sides would make all the efforts to render transports easier especially by simplifying customs formalities.

The two collocutors also approached the matter of compensations to which the two countries are entitled as a result of the losses sustained following the UN embargo against Yugoslavia, and analysed the measures that are necessary for an improvement of navigation for the duration of the UN embargo on the Danube.

Economic Cooperation Talks With Bulgaria Viewed

AU2405175793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0633 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/5/1993—The proceedings concluded on Friday, 21 May, of the joint Romanian-Bulgarian governmental commission on economic and technical-scientific collaboration.

Expressing satisfaction over the results recorded during the negotiations held at the headquarters of the Romanian Ministry of Transports, the president of the Bulgarian side in the commission referred in a press statement to the documents signed providing "facilities for traffic between the two neighboring countries and grant possibilities, if finance provided, for the building of two bridges over the Danube. All these would truly turn us into European states," said the Bulgarian guest.

Jointly established on the occasion were measures regarding a speeding up of the procedure for the Ruse-Giurgiu customs control and for a joint customs control. Possibilities were examined to ease transport of merchandise vehicles between the two countries on the Giurgiu-Ruse bridge.

The delegations agreed upon the setting up of new border crossing points over the Danube by ferryboats and technical aspects were studied regarding the granting of transport authorizations.

"Finding facilities for trade among Balkan countries could ease the negative effects of the embargo over Yugoslavia which are fully experienced by these states," said the Bulgarian official.

"Romania and Bulgaria are forced to pass over the same period of transition towards a market economy," said Paul Teodoru, minister of transports and president of the Romanian side in the commission.

Both ministers stressed that joint opinions would be searched for the future conference of the ministers of transports in the Black Sea area to take place at Constanta early in September and which is to be attended also by representatives of the European Community and of other international bodies.

The sides are also considering the organization of a meeting of the ministers of transports of the Balkan states.

Worth mentioning is the fact that, on the Bulgarian side's request, during the proceedings of the commission approached were also aspects regarding environment protection.

Transport Links Discussed

AU2205190693 Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Ruse, May 22 (BTA)—The first session of the Bulgarian-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation, held in Bucharest, analysed bilateral commercial exchange and adopted an agreement concerning transport communications between the two countries. The Bulgarian side of the commission was led by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Transport Neycho Neev and the Romanian by Transport Minister Paul Teodoru.

A decision was adopted for the construction of two bridges across the Danube between Vidin (Bulgaria) and Calafat (Romania) and Oryakhovo (Bulgaria) and Beket (Romania). According to preliminary estimates, the construction of the bridges will cost about U.S.$250 million and will employ about 10,000 people.

The two sides applied to the Operation PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] for the funds necessary for a technical appraisal of the only bridge connecting the two countries across the Danube between Ruse and Giurgiu. It has been provided for the setting up of a special joint commission for inspecting the bridge.

In the next two months the two sides are to draft documents for avoiding double taxation in view of easing customs regulations between the two countries as well as seek areas and funds for building joint checkpoints.

Two railway stations for transporting trucks between Ruse and Giurgiu are to be opened by June 30 in order to ease the traffic across the Ruse-Giurgiu bridge.

The session also discussed the idea for an express Bucharest-Sofia business train to cover the distance between the two capitals in five hours, connecting to the business train to Thessaloniki.

Bill Endorsed on Financing Actions With Moldova

AU2105081893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1923 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1993—At the Thursday, 20 May sitting, the Chamber of Deputies completed the debates on the bill about the financing of actions for Romania's integration with the Republic of Moldova. The bill was adopted unanimously. The funds to be apportioned to the actions specified by the law in question amount to about 8 billion lei for the year 1993.

Iliescu Receives Special Envoy of Kuwaiti Amir

AU2105152593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1316 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/5/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received at Cotroceni Palace Kuwait's Minister of Communications and State Minister for Housing Habib Hasan Jawhar Hayat, special envoy of the amir of Kuwait.

"We are glad to be in Bucharest," the guest told the press, "and convey Romania's president a message on behalf of his excellency's friend, the Amir of Kuwait."

Availing himself of the interview with the Romanian head of state, the envoy thanked Romania for its "noble attitude" during the Gulf conflict, as well as for the assistance rendered to his country's reconstruction after liberation.

Kuwait's envoy made a general presentation of the situation in the Gulf zone with a special stress on the prospects of developing the economic relations between Romania and Kuwait thanks to the signing last year of the agreement for the mutual protection of investment and avoidance of double taxation.

IBRD Sets 30 June Deadline for Debt Payment

AU2305195493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1634 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/5/1993—Romania is to pay on the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] account on June 30, 1993 the amount of 6,173,810,378 lei, representing the debt of June 30, 1992.

According to the IBRD statute, any state that becomes as member—Romania became in 1972—and subscribes stock to the bank's capital is bound to deposit on its account 20 per cent of the value of the subscribed capital. Starting July 1, 1987, the part of the capital paid by members in their national currencies is part of the operations of maintaining the values. Since 1989, the IBRD has annually sent to the Romanian Ministry of Finance pay notices as regarded the money owed for maintaining the value of the lei quota transferred by Romania on its account but no payment was made so far.

Iliescu: Magureanu To Remain SRI Director

AU2105130493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 May 93 p 1

[B.C.-initialed report: "Surprising Decision at Cotroceni: The President Is Supporting Mr. Virgil Magureanu"]

[Text] During a meeting held "behind closed doors" with the members of the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] Central Executive Bureau, President Ion Iliescu asserted that Virgil Magureanu, the current SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] director, will not be relieved of his post. President Iliescu's assertion has surprised the majority of observers, who knew about Iliescu's dour attitude displayed against Magureanu, especially over the past few months. Besides this, the fact that FDSN Senator Radu Timofte went on Wednesday [12 May] to Cotroceni Palace where he held a "secret" meeting with Iliescu also made the politicians believe that Timofte was to be appointed new head of SRI. Although after this latest statement of Iliescu's the result of the duel between Magureanu and Timofte seems likely to be decided in favor of the former, one still cannot rule out surprises.

Reactivation of Monitoring Centers Disclosed

AU2405135493 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 May 93 p 3

[Article by Emil Berdeli and Vasile Stinca: "Colonel Gheorghe Moldovan Discloses a Telephone Monitoring System—After His Statement in Parliament, Virgil Magureanu Transferred Him to the Reserves"]

[Text] For the first time since 1989, Colonel Gheorghe Moldovan, former head of the Baia Mare branch of the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], has disclosed the games behind the scenes played by an information system and the SRI's intention to get involved in political life. He vehemently opposed the installation of devices to monitor telephone conversations without the permission of the Prosecutor's Office. For disobeying the orders received from the central department, he was transferred to the reserves by the SRI director, Mr. Virgil Magureanu.

According to statements by the former head of the SRI Baia Mare branch, the transfer to the reserves was also due to certain disinformation and games played behind the scenes, at the level of the SRI leadership in Bucharest, in which politicians are also involved.

The parliamentary commission for defense, public order, and national security is aware of Colonel Gheorghe Moldova's case.

As early as 1991, with the agreement of the SRI director, units in provinces received orders to reactivate listening devices. Reactivating them required some tests (namely to record certain telephone conversations).

A major part of the monitoring centers of the former Securitate were no longer connected to the urban telephone exchange, and thus the SRI had to obtain legal permission from the Prosecutor General's office to reactivate the monitoring devices. The tests could be carried out only with the approval of the management of the provincial civilian telephone exchanges.

To test the listening technique, the SRI had to penetrate telephone exchanges and obtain information. The goal was to achieve a connection between the chosen telephone posts and the SRI monitoring centers.

Considering that there was no legal approval for this monitoring, the SRI leadership sent to the provinces the methodology for the use of the so-called TO (operational technology). The actions of collecting proof lead to a climate of distrust and dissatisfaction among several SRI provincial leaders. In accordance with the decisions taken by the SRI leadership, the local commanders had limited access to the content of the recordings. The flow of information gathered on the occasion of those tests eluded the local officials and through Colonel Zamfir, from the TONOLA [expansion unknown] monitoring unit, was directed right to Mr. Magureanu's office. The reason for seeking the direct subordination of the provincial monitoring services to the central unit was to hide the fact that, among those whose conversations were monitored, there were several politicians, both members of the ruling party as well as of opposition parties. During the elections, the telephone recordings of certain politicians were inspected by the SRI leadership to be able to anticipate the results of the elections. Several SRI officers affirm that if Mr. Magureanu is going to keep the monopoly over the information coming from the TONOLA unit, he will easily be able to control the political life of our country. It is also known that whenever the SRI director was warned by his subordinates about getting involved in the political life of the country, he removed them from the service.

Even if parliament tries to control the activity of the SRI, Mr. Magureanu has already prepared an escape route. Members of parliament will not be able to check the files that are currently being processed and the SRI director, as always, will have an ace up his sleeve.

Minister Discusses Effects of Labor Conflict

AU2105142093 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17 May 93 p 5

[Part one of interview with Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of labor and social protection, by Liana Buligan; place and date not given: "The Protocol Concluded With the Trade Unions Is a Failure"]

[Text] [Buligan] Mr. Minister, now, after the conclusion of the protocol between the government and trade unions on 6 May, what is your opinion about the trade union movement in Romania?

[Popescu] The precursory actions and the general strike have revealed the potential of the main trade union centrals at this point. Certainly, it was a new way to tackle this form of protest, maybe also because of the Law on Labor Conflicts, which, as is known, does not include general strikes. Hence the need to organize a strike in stages, the only solution for trade union centrals to abide by the law and still go on strike. This reveals the strength of the trade unions; however, a certain lack of coordination between announced actions and actually organized ones could also be noted. This is the important point that both partners should think over and that determines a correction of the opinions we have about each other.

[Buligan] Do you believe that the "general strike" posed a genuine threat?

[Popescu] Another thing this incipient strike has demonstrated is a certain detachment of trade union leaders from the rest of trade union members, from the grass roots, as we say. Seen from this angle, I think that the general strike was not such a threat as some of the trade union leaders wanted it to be.

[Buligan] Do you view the protocol that has been concluded as a victory of the trade unions or a victory of the government?

[Popescu] I was waiting for such a question, and I would like to say that this protocol should not be discussed from this angle, namely as a protocol concluded between two hostile forces, between the "good" and the "bad" guys, between a side that wins and one that loses. I think we should have a different approach: That of partners in a society that is in the process of opening and of becoming a democratic society. These partners must be equally responsible for what is happening in society and for how things develop. If we view things from this angle, then I think that the protocol concluded is a failure for all. I also think that in about two to three months the entire population will look at it as a failure when, indeed, inflation will be much higher than at this time and when we realize that nothing has been gained and that, in fact, all of us have lost.

[Buligan] What will the economic and social effects of this protocol be?

[Popescu] If things remain as they were stipulated in the protocol, and if they are implemented in the coming period, then I think that negative consequences for the Romanian society will be felt very soon. Surely, two to three months is not a long period, and our current discussion will be proved by facts. Assessing the protocol, the actual situation in Romania, and the way the economy is evolving, I can say that the protocol is a failure. Increased wages were demanded, and this inevitably leads to increased prices and thus to a higher inflation and, unfortunately, to superinflation. I want to quote an example of how unrealistic some of the additional wage demands were, namely those made by one of the trade union centrals that obtained a minimum salary of 90,000 lei for the employees of Constanta Port. In reality, however, something more disastrous is happening, and I know what I am talking about.

The negotiations on wages that are under way at the level of branches and units have reached even higher amounts: around 120,000-160,000 lei. If this continues, then we do not have to wait long for superinflation in Romania and—consequently—the deterioration of the standard of living. Social tension will increase tremendously. the trade unions will not be able to raise any claims any more. The government will not be able to do anything, and a blockage will be imminent.

[Buligan] Can you predict the level of unemployment, the standard of living, and the situation of the labor market for the current year?

[Popescu] An interesting thing can be noted. In May, the unemployment rate decreased slightly—by a minute percentage—not because of efficient measures, but because some seasonal sectors such as construction have begun their activity. If we bear in mind that we have to separate enterprises with good performance and bankrupt ones, then this relative decrease in unemployment is an illusion. If things develop along the line of the reform, the unemployment rate will reach 12 percent. There is a direct relationship between the reform process and the unemployment rate. Aside from this, efforts are being made to create new jobs in the public services sector, tourism, small and medium-scale enterprises, which this year have all necessary conditions to start off properly.

[Buligan] The trade unions have often said that you are "the only government member open to dialogue, who understands their demands, but who does not have any decisionmaking power." Do you think that the minister of labor and social protection should have higher decisionmaking prerogatives, while the official in charge of relations with the trade unions (Mr. Iacob Zelenco) should be more efficient, in the sense of acting as a buffer in tensions between the government and trade unions?

[Popescu] Here we cannot talk about one or another person; we are a government team that has to implement a program. I have always thought that the government official in charge of relations with the trade unions should have greater decisionmaking power. When the government was formed, I was one of those who said that it would be useful for this government representative to hold the position of state minister, being in charge of trade unions, which is an extremely sensitive area, particularly for a country experiencing such a hard reform process. This alternative was not taken into consideration, and the Stolojan alternative was followed. I personally think that the apparatus of this government representative in charge of relations with the trade unions has to be reconsidered, it has to be strengthened in number and especially as far the professional standard is concerned. During the dialogue with the trade unions, the lack of efficiency of this apparatus became clear. Many of the trade union leaders came up with viable

arguments in support of their claims, while the apparatus of the government representative—I am sorry to say—had moments when it could not respond. Therefore, I favor the improvement of this apparatus from a qualitative point of view.

[Buligan] What social protection measures have been prepared for the coming period?

[Popescu] The social protection measures are not spectacular and will not improve the Romanian people's standard of living from today until tomorrow. The goal of these measures is to preserve the current standard of living, if possible, although even this standard of living will be amended due to the deterioration of the situation in the coming months. This standard of living can only be the result of an increased economic production. As long the productive activity is not increasing, but on the contrary, the standard of living may not improve, either. This is relentlessly clear. This is why the entire government team is struggling to preserve the current standard of living. In this sense we have to mention the wage scales financed from the budget that are now being discussed in Parliament. Unfortunately, here the increase is just 10-15 percent. We promote an increase in pensions, including the additional ones, by September, after things have settled one way or another.

Parliament Decides To Start Value-Added Tax 1 July

AU2405200693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/5/1993—On Monday May 24, the Romanian Chamber of Deputies passed the bill stipulating that the value added tax (VAT) shall be applied in Romania starting July 1, current year.

Minister of State and Minister of Finance Florin Georgescu, who joined the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies, underscored the fact that "all the conditions required by the VAT's implementation are in place."

The minister said the impact of the VAT had been assessed and an influence of 8-9 percent on prices and 5-7 percent on inflation had been forecast.

Drop in Exports, Imports Confirmed

AU2405175993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0656 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/5/1993—"Exports and imports decreased in April this year on March and on April last year," said Alexandru Radocea, president of the National Board of Statistics, at a May 21 news conference.

Hard currency imports outgrew exports, resulting in a $53.7 million deficit.

$1,082.7 million worth of goods were exported over 1 January—30 April 1993, 8.5 percent less than over the same period of last year. Hard currency imports amounted to $1,518 million, thus resulting a deficit of $435.3 million.

Private agents [companies] made exports worth $280.9 million in the first four months of the current year, as against $410.6 million worth of imports.

Exports grew 3.9 percent over January-April 1993 as against the similar period of last year and imports dropped 25.7 percent.

Vacaroiu, Prefects Discuss Economic Issues

AU2105202593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1533 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/5/1993—The Victoria Palace in Bucharest, seat of the Romanian Government, was the venue of a two days' conference with prefects, attended by Premier Vacaroiu, the government's secretary general Viorel Hrebenciuc, the head of the local administration department Octav Cosmanca, and presidential counselor Marian Enache.

The prime minister, while underlining the usefulness of such meetings with the prefects, suggested that a two-way informational system should be set up to enable permanent contact between the executive and its territorial extensions.

Premier Vacaroiu showed that the transition period was not expected to last just a few months, it could well extend over several years and that 1993 was the decisive year for the relaunching of the Romanian economy, with 1994 estimated as promising a greater impetus of economic life. The premier conveyed the prefects the executive's conclusion that progress in the enforcement of laws and in implementation of the targets of the reform was still slow.

The great priorities lying ahead of the country's administration were named as being: the growth of physical production which, since April-May this year has been slightly on the rise; the resolute handling of corruption and fiscal evasion; the reinstatement of severe financial discipline in state companies; the promotion of small and medium private businesses apt to boost production; the further privatisation of state-owned companies with the strict observance of the regulations in force; the speedier assignment of land-ownership title deeds; the capitalisation of tillable land left unused over the past two-three years; the technical inspection of irrigation systems and a better administration of diesel oil reserves.

The premier presented the prefects the stage of the negotiations with the important international financial bodies that can support financially the re-equilibration of the national budget deficit. He cautioned that economic relaunch could not be achieved solely through foreign loans spent on consumption. They will have to be sustained by a constant growth of physical production and exports.

Relative to the fight against corruption, the prime minister informed about the bills prepared by the executive for submission to Parliament and adoption by way of emergency. Such laws stipulate penal measures against frauds. He demonstrated that eradication of fiscal evasion could bring the budget a 30-40 percent surplus of revenues.

The conference is in progress.

Vacaroiu Statement on Prices, Salary Indexation

AU2305160793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu made a statement last night at the end of the meeting held between the members of his cabinet and the county prefects. The meeting was also attended by President Ion Iliescu. Referring to his affirmation regarding the increase of prices beyond the government's calculations, Nicolae Vacaroiu said that in a number of sectors at the level of certain companies, the prices are free. Prices are to be negotiated directly, although the government stipulated through a decision that these negotiations should be influenced only by granting compensation for indexation and the increase of the dollar rate. Therefore, the government is duty bound to take a series of measures, supervise the way in which prices are negotiated and the elements on which they are based, and carefully explore possibilities to correct salary indexation, said the prime minister. He also noted that as of 1 July, there will be a strict rule according to which the salary fund will increase if production increases and decrease if production decreases.

Infant Death Rate Reported Highest in Europe

AU2105152493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/5/1993—According to the daily MERIDIAN, infant death rate in Romania is the highest among 24 European states. Starting from 22.7 per thousand in 1991, it has reached an alarming 26.9 in 1992. Infant death occurrence in hospitals also registered an increase, half of the cases being considered avoidable, writes the newspaper. Investigating the cause of this alarming situation, the daily notices that several illnesses, including AIDS, "are transmitted especially through contaminated blood." Even if this fact was disclosed after the 1989 revolution, the cause has not been yet eliminated which should be blamed on "the Institute of Hematology that did not carry out HIV tests and an efficient test for the hepatitis virus B with serious consequences on health," writes the daily.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 25 May
WA2505160893

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Present frontline to mark UN protected zone in Sarajevo ... Croats say Muslims renewing fighting in Mostar ... Krajina Serbs call off talks with Croats ... Tudjman denounces Muslims over clashes in Bosnia ... Mazowiecki criticizes international peace inititiative ... Macedonia to urge lifting of arms embargo.

MILITARY

UN ZONE ESTABLISHED: According to TANJUG, Bosnian Croats, Muslims agree to Serbian proposal to establish existing frontline as boundary of UN safe haven in Sarajevo. Muslims had earlier proposed broader zone, withdrawal of Serbian artillery 12 miles from present front. (LD2505020493)

FIGHTING RENEWED IN MOSTAR (Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Croat forces report Muslims "opened infantry arms fire" in Mostar, Muslim attempt to "gain control" of right bank of Neretva river "thwarted" by Croats. (LD2505072893)

KRAJINA SERBS CALL OFF TALKS (TANJUG): Krajina Serbs refuse to send delegation to Zagreb for scheduled cease-fire talks with Croats, claim Croatia "continuing aggression and attacks on Serbian villages." (LD2505135593)

POLITICAL

TUDJMAN CONDEMNS MUSLIMS (Hamburg DIE WELT): Croatian President Tudjman in interview blames Muslims who "have no other goal" but establishment of "Islamic Bosnia" for recent clashes with Bosnian Croats. Tudjman says Muslims fleeing Serbian-conquered regions "started violent actions against Croatian population" because they "do not expect" to retake old territories from Serbs, claims atrocities "allegedly" committed by Bosnian Croats a "provocation with the goal of compromising Croatia." (AU24O519O793)

MOVING OF CAPITAL SUGGESTED (Zagreb Radio): New Bosnian Prime Minister Prlic calls on Bosnian Muslims, Croats, Serbs to prepare for "election of new government," urges "temporarily" moving capital from Sarajevo. (LD2405164693)

FRY LISTS 'WAR CRIMINALS' (TANJUG): FRY commission prepares list of 232 Muslims who "committed brutal crimes against Serbian civilians" during war in Bosnia. Among list of "war criminals" are "officials of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action" who "organized genocide of Serbian people," as well as "people who directly committed crimes." (LD2505101993)

DIPLOMATIC

MAZOWIECKI DENOUNCES PEACE PLAN (Brussels LE SOIR): In interview, UN Special Envoy Mazowiecki charges there are "compelling similarities" between 1938 Munich agreement and new international "joint action plan," warns that this international "acceptance of ethnic cleansing" could "have fatal consequences" in former Soviet Union. Saying he is "no Pontius Pilate," Mazowiecki declares he will be able to continue his mission "only with difficulty." (BR2505115893)

CHURKIN OPTIMISTIC OVER PLAN (Belgrade TV): After talks with Serbian officials in Belgrade, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin says Russia "satisfied" with "joint action plan," suggests Izetbegovic based his rejection of it on "press reports" that "interpreted" the plan "incorrectly." (AU2405201093)

SPILLOVER

MACEDONIA URGES UN TO LIFT EMBARGO (AFP): Saying Macedonia "cannot rely solely" on UN peacekeeping forces "to defend itself against attack," Macedonian Foreign Minister Popovski announces he will ask UN Security Council to lift arms embargo. (AU25O5072693)

Negotiators Agree on 'Protected Zone' Boundary

LD2505020493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2146 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May—The proposal of the Serb military delegation to establish the present front-line between the warring sides as the boundary of the "protected zone" in Sarajevo was accepted at today's meeting of the three mixed commissions of the belligerent sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SRNA news agency reports. The meeting was held at Sarajevo airport.

Details concerning the way in which the demarcation line will be drawn and how UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] used in separating the warring sides will be deployed in the field will be specified at the next meeting scheduled for Thursday, 27 May, while other details would be resolved later on.

The basic problem that caused this meeting to last for almost nine hours was precisely the definition of the "protected zone" in Sarajevo, that is, the insistence of the Muslim military delegation that this should be a very broad zone, incorporating a considerable portion of Serb-controlled territory.

The Serb side could not accept this, but, thanks to the mediatory role of UNPROFOR representatives who conducted numerous consultations with each of the sides present, the Muslim and Croat sides nevertheless accepted the Serb proposal.

In a statement after the meeting, Major General Milan Gvero, the deputy commander of the Serb Republic Army's General Staff, expressed the hope that, on the basis of today's negotiations, a new, comprehensive proposal would be forwarded at the next meeting. According to him, the new proposal should be a starting point for "a step forward" and, with certain modifications, could be signed by the commanders of all three warring sides.

"Our objective is to maintain the peace process and to express the goodwill to establish peace in the Sarajevo region," Gvero said, stressing that not one single meter of traditional Serb land would be allowed to be brought into question.

Muslim-Serb Cease-Fire Violations in Southeast

LD2405165593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 May 93

[Report by Bozidar Stajcic from Serb-held eastern Herzegovina]

[Excerpt] Last night, Muslim units launched a major infantry assault with artillery support in the Dobro Polje area. This morning the information service of the Herzegovina Corps [Serb forces] stated that heavy losses were inflicted on Muslim units; four Serb soldiers were wounded.

Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units have been violating the latest cease-fire agreement on the Stolac-Capljina part of the battlefield [southeast of Mostar]. From their strongholds in the areas of Cavsa, Ravna Gomila, and Drenovac, they opened machine-gun, anti-aircraft machine-gun and antiaircraft gun fire on Serb defense positions in Okoliste, Prskanj, and Meteriz in [Serb-held] Ljubinje Municipality. [passage omitted]

Fighting Resumes in Mostar; Muslims 'Thwarted'

LD2505072893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] After a few days of a relative lull in Mostar, members of Muslim forces last night opened infantry arms fire at several places in the town, and then tried to break through defense lines of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the command of the eastern Herzegovina operational zone announced this morning. The attacks by Muslim forces and their attemps to gain control of parts of the town on the right bank [of the river Neretva] have been thwarted. The fighting went on until 0400 [0200 GMT] this morning, since when it has been peaceful.

Serb Tanks, Transporters Move From Bijeljina to Brcko

AU2505094093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 25 May carries in its regular 15-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "at 0825 [0625 GMT] this morning, the Chetniks began their ritual of death. At regular intervals they shell the town with only one aim in mind: to destroy and kill. This is the 10th day that the population is in shelters as these deranged murderers attack the town. Late yesterday afternoon they launched an attack on the defensive position in (?Strajiste) in an attempt to carry out a combined tank and infantry breakthrough. However, our fighters once again demonstrated firmness and strength, and inflicted losses upon the enemy. The enemy is still concentrating forces on this front, so new offensives can be expected."

Hamiz Deronjic reports from Brcko that "the aggressor has been launching new attacks on the borders of the northern corridor in Brcko. Yesterday evening, the Chetniks fiercely shelled the defensive regions in Brod, Brodusa, the free part of Suljagic Sokak, and Stari Rasadnik. At 2245 last night, 60-mm and 82-mm mortars pounded Licki Most, Dizdarusa, Omerbegovaca, and were particularly severe on the region of Rijeke, which was also

exposed to a heavy attack by Chetnik infantry at 2325. The defenders responded fiercely and repelled the Chetniks from our positions. Last night the aggressor brought in tanks and a bus load of Chetniks to the central part of the front, while his usual reinforcements are still arriving along the regular Bijeljina-(?Razevo)-Brcko route. A convoy of heavy Chetnik transport vehicles was moving along this same route at 2030 last night." He says that "at 0500 this morning the Chetniks started firing an antiaircraft machine gun at Bajici."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo describes the fighting yesterday, and adds that "this morning is relatively quiet in the town, and the defensive lines are unchanged."

The Information Service of the Second Corps Third Operative Group reports from Kladanj that "the enemy is still trying to provoke our defenders into a larger conflict. However, our fighters are not responding to any of this and are firmly holding the defensive lines."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "the relative peace is still in place. Even though mortar and small arms fire has been reported from most parts of the front, there have been no conventional attacks. But while the cease-fire on this front is holding, the population is becoming increasingly anxious about the clashes in central Bosnia and in Herzegovina. The Gradacac Commune Presidency is again appealing to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command, and to the HVO Headquarters to do everything possible to stop these clashes immediately. The people of Gradacac, who have been exposed to the sheer hell of aggression for over a year now, are rightly aggravated by these clashes as they reflect upon the organization of the defenses and life in this commune and in the Tuzla region." The report says that "through the joint struggle by the Muslim and the Croat peoples, Gradacac has managed to remain free. We appeal that the clashes between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army halt, so that we can all turn to the fight against our common enemy."

Reporting from Jablanica, Haldo Dervisbegovic says that "the night was marked by the usual provocations by HVO fighters from their strongholds. Ostrozac had a quiet night. It is also deceptively calm this morning, with some small arms fire."

Describing the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer says that "one shell landed in the center of Stari Grad at about 0900, but we have no word on casualties. The M-84 machine gun on Spicasta Stijena is very active. Other parts of Sarajevo are generally quiet."

Karadzic, Churkin Discuss Bosnia Peace Plan Issues

LD2405181793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], had a meeting in Belgrade today with Russia's special envoy to negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin.

Following almost one hour of talks, Churkin said that he and Karadzic discussed "the plan for joint action," which was approved the day before yesterday by the foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain.

Churkin said that he pointed out to Karadzic the article in the plan which speaks of encouraging the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to fulfill by mutual agreement the points of the Vance-Owen plan which can be implemented.

Karadzic stressed that the Bosnian Serbs support the five ministers' plan since it "opens possibilities for continuing the peace process."

Saying that "the maps buried the Vance-Owen plan," Karadzic stressed that the Serb side is ready to "discuss any contentious territorial question."

It must be defined what has been occupied and what has not, and the talks should be based on the defined vital interests of the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in respect of territory. Territorial disputes should be examined and resolved either through territory exchange or through withdrawal of the side which did not claim the right to the territory. In this way the war could end very soon, Karadzic said.

He emphasized that "the 10 provinces" envisaged by the Vance-Owen plan "do not exist for the Serb side"; only one does, "which is called the Serb republic." "There is no giving in there," the leader of the Bosnian Serbs said.

Speaking about the possibility of deploying international observers at the border between the Serb republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Karadzic stressed that only the Serb republic assembly can decide on that issue.

He then added: "That border can be controlled from the air quite sufficiently."

Proposal To Move Government Outside Sarajevo

LD2405164693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 May 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpt] Following Jadranko Prlic's appointment as head of a transitional central government of the

Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—in keeping with the agreement reached in Medjugorje on 18th May on implementation of the Vance-Owen plan—his office today announced that he has sent a note to Mate Boban and Alija Izetbegovic asking them to participate in the consultations about the election of a new government.

His statement stresses that both sides are asked to send their replies by today and that Mr. Prlic has also informed the Serbian side about his activities at the formation of the transitional central government because, according to provisions in the Vance-Owen plan, three ministerial posts are allocated to representatives of the Serbian people. Lord Owen and Thorwald Stoltenberg, the cochairmen of the peace conference, have also been informed about all these activities as well as about the prime minister's wish to temporarily move the seat of the transitional government out of the occupied city of Sarajevo.

The statement released by the office of Jadranko Prlic, head of the transitional central government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, concludes by saying: To fulfill these obligations is the best way of demonstrating one's contribution to, and desire to restore, peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Army, Serb Forces To Swap Prisoners 25 May

AU2405193093 Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, May 24 (AFP)—The Croatian Army and Serb forces will swap more than 50 prisoners Tuesday [25 May] in the first simultaneous prisoner exchange since Croatia launched an offensive to retake Serb-held land in January, the Red Cross said Monday [24 May].

Serb nationalist forces will hand over 26 captives and Croatian Army forces will release 28 prisoners in the southwest Croatian town of Otocac under U.N. supervision, International Committee of the Red Cross spokesman Jette Soerensen told AFP.

The two sides were supposed to sign a ceasefire to end sporadic clashes that have flared since the Croatian offensive, but the Serb general due to sign for his side failed to show up. United Nations officials said this signaled division in the Serb ranks.

Cedric Thornberry, the number two official in the U.N. Protection Force, travelled to Knin, the capital of the Serbs' self-proclaimed republic of Krajina in Croatia, to try to persuade the Serbs to sign.

A meeting between the two sides to press ahead with broader peace talks is still scheduled for Wednesday [26 May] in Zagreb, UNPROFOR said.

The Croatian offensive was designed to carve out a land corridor through Serb-held land between Zagreb and the heavily populated southern coast of Croatia.

The offensive shattered a year-old ceasefire declared after six months of fighting that broke out when Croatia declared independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia.

Statement Calls UN Warning 'Excuse'

LD2405135993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] The content of the latest joint statement on Bosnia-Herzegovina by the five leading Security Council member states proves the delicateness of the position of Croatian state policy on Bosnia-Herzegovina during all the time [of the conflict], a statement issued by Vesna Skare-[word indistinct], head of the president's press office, says.

The very positions by the five confirm that Croatia was right in saying that neither Europe, nor the United States, nor the United Nations, nor the European Community had a unified viewpoint on how to solve the complicated problem. The warning by the five countries that sanctions could be imposed against Croatia for helping the Bosnian Croats is obviously just an excuse for shedding responsibility for the failure of the measures taken by the international community so far, in order to shift the blame or part of it to those whose actions have not in the least contributed to the present situation.

Croatia is doing everything possible to stop the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is confirmed by the recent visit to Herzegovina by President Tudjman, in the presence of representatives of the international community and the visit to the area by the Croatian-Turkish goodwill mission with the aim of ending the Muslim-Croat confrontations.

The positions expressed by the five countries cannot be considered a sufficiently efficient blueprint for ending the war and establishing a just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement says in conclusion.

Tudjman Blames Muslims for Ongoing Fighting

AU2405190793 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 May 93 p 9

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Carl Gustav Stroehm; place and date not given: "Tudjman: Radical Muslims Want To Prolong the War"]

[Text] [Stroehm] You have just visited Herzegovina to settle the conflicts between Muslims and Croats there. What happened, in the first place, that the allies suddenly started to fight each other?

[Tudjman] There is profound distrust between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. There is no understanding for the need to cooperate.

[Stroehm] What is the reason for this distrust?

[Tudjman] The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina fear that the Muslims have no other goal but an Islamic Bosnia. In addition, about 100,000 Muslims fled, from the areas in eastern Bosnia that have been conquered by the Serbs, to the areas that are supposed to form provinces eight and 10 of the Vance-Owen plan. In this area, which is mainly settled by Croats, the refugees have changed the demographic picture completely to the benefit of the Muslims. And the Muslims started violent actions against the Croatian population here—with the goal of getting the areas of Mostar, Konjic, and Jablanica to Travnik in their hands, which were envisaged as Croatian provinces, according to the Vance-Owen plan. The Muslims probably do not expect that they will get back their provinces that have been conquered by the Serbs.

[Stroehm] But these cannot be the only reasons?

[Tudjman] Of course, there are extremists on both sides. Among the Muslims there are, for instance, the "mojahedin" forces. They are for provoking and prolonging the war at any cost. On the Croatian side, some people think that such a policy must be opposed by force. At the same moment that the world was shocked by what the Serbs had done in Srebrenica, the hostilities between Muslims and Croats broke out. This was a welcome excuse for claiming that not only the Serbs, but also the

Croats, are to blame and, therefore, one does not need military intervention in Bosnia.

[Stroehm] But how do you explain the changes in the Muslim camp?

[Tudjman] There is a lot of evidence that not only former members of the Yugoslav military intelligence service, KOS, are active in their military supreme command, but that these people were introduced there with a purpose. They concluded a cease-fire with the Serbian General Mladic. As a result, thousands of Muslim soldiers were withdrawn from the front against Serbia and were put to march against the Croats.

[Stroehm] There were also unpleasant phenomena among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina....

[Tudjman] Yes. British television showed a unit, which allegedly belonged to the "Croatian Defense Council" (HVO)—with emblems of the Ustasha and Hitler regimes. This was a provocation with the goal of compromising Croatia.

[Stroehm] How much influence do you have on the Bosnian Croats?

[Tudjman] This conflict is, first of all, the business of the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Republic of Croatia has a certain influence there, because it helped both the Croats and the Muslims in the fight against the Serbian aggression. The Croatian people there followed our appeal to vote for Bosnia's independence in the referendum.

However, it must be made clear that there were no units of the Army of the Republic of Croatia in the areas where the conflict broke out. I invited Lord Owen, Mr. Stoltenberg, and Mr. Petersen to settle the conflict together with me on site. This is how this conference came about—not in Mostar, because they are still fighting there, but in Medjugorje. Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev went to Split with me. I accepted his proposal for controlling the borders—not only the borders between Serbia and Bosnia but all borders: also international control of the borders between Serbia and Croatia—and between Croatia and Bosnia.

[Stroehm] What have the Croats and the Muslims agreed on at the conference in Medjugorje?

[Tudjman] The Croatian side, once again, affirmed that they accept the peace plan. The Croats declared their readiness to release all imprisoned Muslims at once—something which the Muslims have not yet done with the Croats. The Croatian and Muslim delegations were immediately able to go to those areas of Mostar that are under Croatian control—but they were not permitted to enter the areas under Muslim control.

[Stroehm] What did you tell your Bosnian counterpart, Izetbegovic?

[Tudjman] I told him and the other Muslim representatives—and Lord Owen also said this during the conference: If an agreement and cooperation between Muslims and Croats is not possible, how can one then still speak of the continued existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Under this pressure, the Muslims also agreed to cease hostilities and to accept the Vance-Owen plan. Now we will see what is going to happen. If the Muslims were not to accept the proposals about the equal staffing of the various government posts, it would be a suicidal policy.

[Stroehm] You have been repeatedly accused of being in favor of dividing Bosnia—and of already having carried out this division in secret talks with the Serbs. Is this correct?

[Tudjman] This humbug is widespread. The truth is that, before the beginning of the war, I met with both Milosevic and Izetbegovic. At that time, I already realized that the entire crisis of the former Yugoslavia would concentrate on Bosnia—and that it would be necessary to prevent the war, which later assumed such barbaric forms of genocide—worse even than the war in Croatia. Here there were no secrets. Already, at that time, I stressed: If Yugoslavia could have been maintained only as a confederation, Bosnia-Herzegovina can exist only as a community of three constituting nations.

[Stroehm] And how did your interlocutors react?

[Tudjman] Mr. Izetbegovic said that a confederation would lead to Bosnia's destruction. My assessment was exactly the opposite. As a result of the experiences of this war, I am now more than ever of the opinion that Bosnia-Herzegovina can exist only as a confederation—as a community of the three peoples and under UN control. However, one must also ask why Europe and the United States permitted the Serbian aggression in Bosnia to assume such barbaric dimensions—and why Serbia still continues this aggression, despite stricter sanctions and the threat of military intervention.

[Stroehm] Do you have an answer to this question?

[Tudjman] On the one hand, the issue is probably that the West does not want an Islamic state in Bosnia. On the other, the West was so lenient with Serbia because it feared that it would provoke certain forces in Russia—be they Bolshevik or conservative- orthodox—to a tougher attitude. After all, in Bosnia, Russian volunteers are fighting on the Serbian side and Islamic volunteers on the Muslim side.

[Stroehm] How do you assess the political attitude of Bosnia's Muslim leadership today?

[Tudjman] Unfortunately, it is not the moderate influence of Turkey that is increasing, but the radical movements from other Islamic states, which favor war.

[Stroehm] In the West, there is the widespread opinion that in Yugoslavia all nations lived together peacefully—until nationalism emerged and ruined everything.

[Tudjman] The West has shown again and again that it does not understand the situation in this area. The former Yugoslavia was an artificial construct, which consisted of peoples who represented not only different national identities but also belonged to different civilizations. As early as 1941, the old Yugoslavia crumbled without resistence because of its national differences. Tito, as a Croat, understood the national problem. With his internationalist, Marxist view of the world, he tried to offer equal rights to all peoples. But with that he enraged the Serbs. Already during World War II, he did not have any success in Serbia. Churchill noted at that time that the partisans were active in Croatia, but in Serbia it was the Chetniks. When Tito left the stage, anti-Titoism began to dominate in Belgrade. They wanted to turn Yugoslavia into a centralist Greater Serbia. Serbian politics have always understood Yugoslavia only as Greater Serbia. All this gave rise to the general resistance of the other nations. All western ideas that the reestablishment of some kind of Yugoslavia might be possible are unrealistic. Not only did the multinational Yugoslavia crumble, multinational Czechoslovakia also broke up. However, this happened peacefully, because the peoples in question belong at least to the same civilization.

[Stroehm] How come that of all the nations in this area it is just the Serbs, who are not particularly strong with their 12 million people, that have developed this will for power and these militant qualities?

[Tudjman] Regarding the militancy, I do not share your view. When the German General Staff prepared for the war against Yugoslavia, it expected strong resistance because of this Serbian military tradition. In reality, however, neither Germans nor Italians met with any resistance worth mentioning in 1941. Now it has been shown again: Serbia had the entire Communist Yugoslav Army under its control. This was one of the strongest armies in Europe. And even though it had the latest military technology, 1,500 tanks, missiles, and heavy artillery, it was not able to defeat Croatia. In Bosnia, too, the Serbs, despite their superiority, conquered only those areas that the Muslims were not willing to defend. However, where the Bosnian Croats had prepared for defense, they were unsuccessful. One of the essential goals of the Serbs was to push the Serbian border forward to the Neretva River and to conquer both Mostar and Dubrovnik. They did not even manage that despite that the Croats were armed less strongly. The idea that the Serbs are unsurpassable warriors is a myth.

[Stroehm] Then what is the secret of the Serbian dynamism?

[Tudjman] Like hardly any other people, the Serbs are following an irrational, nationalist, imperialistic ideology. They thought that all Serbs must live in one state. On the basis of this ideology they started the war against Croatia and against Bosnia. For them it was inconceivable that, as a result of the crumbling of Yugoslavia, the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia had to live outside their own state. But there is something else: the implacability toward the Muslims. After all, until shortly before the war broke out, the leadership of the Bosnian Muslims negotiated with Belgrade, with the goal of having Bosnia together with Serbia in a common state.

This would have united all Muslims of this area—from Kosovo to Sandzak to Macedonia—in one single state. This would have created optimum conditions for the Muslims in view of their high birth rate. The Serbs rejected this idea because of their historical implacability toward the Muslims and started the war to eradicate the Muslims.

[Stroehm] Has the attitude of the Muslims changed after these experiences?

[Tudjman] When the war began, when the Serbs began with the genocide and the ethnic cleansing, and after Serbia had suffered a defeat at the hands of the Croats, the attitude of the Muslim leadership began to change: Not least hoping for the power of the Islamic countries, it wanted to solve the Serbian question in Bosnia once and for all with a war taken to its ultimate consequence.

[Stroehm] And the Serbs?

[Tudjman] Apart from their implacability toward the Muslims the Serbs have another complex: They think that everywhere that they settle, they have to be the constituting people of the state. Even in those places where they are the minority, they are not willing to be content with the role of a minority. Thus, even if the number of Serbs in Croatia is 12, 10, or even just 8 percent—they want to be the major people in the state. However, they are not at all willing to grant the same rights to other nations in Serbia—such as the Hungarians in Vojvodina or the Kosovo Albanians.

[Stroehm] How do you want to come to terms with the problem of the Serbian minority in Croatia?

[Tudjman] This Serbian minority is not unified. There are about 10 percent of extremists in it, who are susceptible to the Greater Serbian ideology. The majority of these Serbs HaVe been cheated. They were told that the new Croatian Government is preparing a pogrom—and the crimes of the Ustasha in World War II were described with 10-fold magnification. We get the impression that even among the leadership of these Serbs the insight is growing that they have gotten into a dead end of hopelessness. We have established all preconditions for solving the problem by means of local self-administration, which is to be granted to the Serbian minority. However, no state can tolerate an armed resistance movement on its territory. The Croatian areas that are occupied by the Serbs have never been part of a Serbian state.

[Stroehm] But why were the Croats accused of aggression when they tried to reconquer part of the area conquered by the Serbs at the bridge of Maslenica?

[Tudjman] The UN peacekeeping forces came into the country on the basis of an agreement, which was concluded with Croatia and the then Yugoslavia. The UN troops made it possible that the Yugoslav Army left Croatia. But this Army handed its weapons over to the local Serbian guerrillas in these areas. The Serbs, who were armed in this way, prevented the implementation of the Vance plan for Croatia by the peacekeeping forces. Since the UN troops did not have the right to fulfill their tasks by force if necessary, they looked on passively when the Yugoslav Army handed over artillery, tanks, and other weapons to the local Serbs.

[Stroehm] During his visit to Zagreb, German Foreign Minister Kinkel said that he called upon you to "put" things "in order" in Mostar—otherwise there will be consequences for Croatia.

[Tudjman] If he told this to the press, it was a one-sided description. Of course, Croatia as a state, and I as president, have influence on the Croatian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, this does not mean, in any way, that we are controlling everything that is happening there. The clashes there are, first and foremost, the problem of the peoples who live there. I have now offered my good services to exert influence on the Croats there. They have the right to advocate their own interests—but they should not call into question the interests of the Croatian state by their actions. However, I also told the Muslims that they cannot expect the Croats to let weapons through to them that they, the Muslims, will then use against the Croatian population.

[Stroehm] Some circles in the West have called for extending the sanctions against Serbia to Croatia.

[Tudjman] No serious politicians could make such a suggestion. Something like that only serves as cover for the policy of the EC, the United States, and the United nations, which are all helpless and do not know what to do with this "Bosnian cauldron." Neither the Croats in Croatia nor the Croats in Bosnia have marched out to conquer any foreign territory. They have only defended the areas where they live.

[Stroehm] Why is it more difficult for the Croats than for other postcommunist peoples to deal with the West?

[Tudjman] The Croats are accused of being the main culprits in Yugoslavia's crumbling, not only by Serbian propaganda but also by those forces in the West who helped to establish the former Yugoslavia. In addition, there is the burden of World War II and the then Croatian state under Pavelic. The truth is that in World War II there was a much stronger antifascist movement in Croatia than in Serbia or in other countries. If I look at the attitude of part of the German media toward Croatia, I cannot avoid the impression that the German side has a complex in connection with the third Reich.

[Stroehm] How long can the war in Bosnia last?

[Tudjman] I think that a decision might come about by the end of this year. Serbia is so exhausted that it cannot stimulate the war in Bosnia or in Croatia. Therefore, it must come to a political solution. However, Europe and the United Nations and the United States are compromised—and so is Russia.

Federal

Commission Lists Muslims Guilty of War Crimes in B-H

LD2505101993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0830 GMT 25 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav state commission for investigating war crimes has made a list of over 200 Moslems who committed brutal crimes against Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia in the past year.

The most cruel crime was committed by Kemal Kemo Mehmedovic around Srebrenica, said the report. On August 8, 1992, Mehmedovic cut off the head of Andjelko Mladjenovic, a Serb from Jezestica, and carried it off to Srebrenica. This is just one of the many terrible crimes recorded in this document which will be sent to international organizations as an official state document.

Investigating the suffering of around 1,200 Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia from April 1992 until April this year, the Yugoslav State Commission for War Crimes and Crimes of Genocide has published a memorandum which presents data on perpetrators of crimes, members of Moslem military and paramilitary units and groups. The data presented in this document relate only to the suffering of innocent Serb civilians in the municipalities of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica.

The list, which is not definite, contains 232 names of Moslems "who are responsible for beating and torturing prisoners and captives, murders, massacres, butchering and burning people, razing villages, robbery and destruction."

"The concrete responsibility of any of the listed persons has not been fully defined yet. This job has yet to be done by authorized political and legislative organs," said the memorandum.

The names are divided into three groups. The first list contains persons who organized genocide of Serb people, the second organizers and leaders of armed actions, and the third list contains names of people who directly committed crimes.

The list of organizers of the war campaign contains 47 names. "These are officials of the Moslem Party of Democratic Action (SDA), many of whom fled abroad after armed clashes began. Part of them became passive, and a few are still active in the armed forces."

The persons on the second list are the ones who gave orders, the command staff of military and paramilitary formations and different local armed groups, without whose approval or order no crime could have been committed. Naser Oric, the commander of Moslem units in the territory of eastern Bosnia, heads this list of 26 names. Oric is said to have organized and taken part in attacks on most Serb villages.

The third list is the longest and has 159 names of people who committed crimes and raids. Bekto Kamenica from Jeglic in the municipality of Srebrenica is one of the people on this list. It is interesting that he led ustashi (Croat fascists) and Moslem bands against Serbs during the Second World War. He is now accused of taking part in a massacre of the population of the village Jezestica on August 8, 1992, when 120 Serbs were killed, most of them children.

This survey of people who committed different crimes against Serb people in the territory of the municipalities of Bratunac, Srebrenica and Skelani, is based on authentic testimonies of surviving villagers.

Russian Envoy Churkin Arrives in Belgrade

LD2405134593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 24 May 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, Russia's special envoy for negotiations on Bosnia, arrived in Belgrade from New York this afternoon, where he is to meet with FRY President Dobrica Cosic, Yugoslav Army Commander General Zivota Panic, and Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic.

We have learned unofficially that tomorrow morning Churkin is to be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic after which the Russian envoy is to visit Pristina. [passage omitted]

Purpose of Visit Outlined

AU2405201093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 May 93

[Interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin by unidentified reporter in Belgrade on 24 May; in English with superimposed simultaneous translation into Serbo-Croatian—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Good afternoon, Mr. Churkin! What have you accomplished by this visit?

[Churkin] As you know we, the day before yesterday, the five foreign ministers of the permanent UN Security Council members, at the initiative of Russia, adopted a joint action program. We are satisfied with this document. We believe that it corresponds, in many respects, to a solution of the war in Bosnia and to the proposal put forward by President Yeltsin. It concerns some of the aspects of the current realization of the Vance-Owen plan.

We decided that it would be important to approach the realization immediately after the adoption of the joint program, and that is why I arrived here, in Belgrade. I hope to examine, together with the other sides, what can be done to continue the efforts for a firm political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Reporter] On Saturday, Mr. Izetbegovic called the plan completely unacceptable?

[Churkin] I think that his reaction could be explained by the fact that some of the press reports about this joint meeting had interpreted things wrongly. Certain things that I have heard here in Belgrade are incorrect interpretations of what the document means and what it does not mean. I hope that once Mr. Izetbegovic realizes the full meaning of the joint action program his position will change.

Macedonia

Foreign Minister To Request UN To Lift Arms Embargo

AU2505072693 Paris AFP in English 0319 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Skopje, May 25 (AFP)—Macedonia's foreign minister, Vlado Popovski, said late Monday that Skopje would ask the United Nations Security Council to lift the arms embargo preventing former Yugoslav republics from importing weapons.

Interviewed by the independent television station A1 about western plans to send troops to Macedonia, Popovski said the former Yugoslav republic was not in a position to defend itself against attack.

"Given the environment of Macedonia, we cannot rely solely on the peace forces," he said, adding that the government would be asking "very soon" for the arms embargo to be lifted so far as it was concerned.

Macedonia presently has armed forces composed of 11,000 soldiers and 8,000 police, he said.

Popovski also said Macedonia was considering requesting membership of the NATO western military alliance.

Villagers Reportedly Threatened by Ethnic Albanians

AU2505073193 Paris AFP in English 0319 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Skopje, May 25 (AFP)—Fifteen heads of families from a village in Macedonia near here say they have received letters ordering them to sell up all their belongings and leave the region within two months.

The letters to the people in Aracinovo, 20 kilometres (12 miles) north of Skopje, signed by a "Leadership of the Ethnic Albanian Council," threaten that the families safety cannot be guaranteed if they do not leave.

No one in Skopje admits to having heard of this "Council," and the letters were shown to the authorities here Monday by the family heads.

The incident illustrates the growing tensions being stirred up in this multi-ethnic former Yugoslav republic, composed of a majority of Orthodox Church Macedonian Slavs and a minority of Moslems of Albanian origin.

Official sources put the Albanians at 21 percent of the population of 2.4 million. But Albanian sources put the proportion at "more than 40 percent."

Macedonians have been complaining of an uncontrolled influx into their towns and villages of ethnic Albanians from the troubled Serbian province of Kosovo, claiming that the republic is being "albanised."

Macedonia borders Albania proper, as well as Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, and many of the Albanians have fled repression in Kosovo by the Serb authorities since 1990, when Kosovo's autonomous status was revoked by Belgrade.

Aracinovo, which 10 years ago had a majority Macedonian population, now has 12,000 to 13,000 inhabitants of which only 2,000 are Macedonian, according to the local representatives, who asked the Skopje authorities for help and protection.

The eldest of them stressed the "good neighbour" relations that had until recently prevailed between the two ethnic communities.

The local Albanians for their part deplored the threatening letters and criticised the ineffectiveness of the Albanian-supported Party of Democratic Prosperity against "those aiming to provoke conflict."

But according to the physician of a local medical centre, its work has been "seriously disrupted" by the "refusal" of Albanians, whether patients or staff, to speak Macedonian.

At a press conference at Tetovo in the west of the republic last week, the Macedonia Democrat Party blamed "numerous problems" in the region on "arbitary behaviour" by local Albanians.

The party complained the Albanians had demanded that only their language be spoken, and that schools should be renamed after Albanian figures.

According to the party, this has created insecurity among the Macedonian population and "forced into exile" a number of professional people.

Official figures say that Tetovo has 180,000 inhabitants, of whom 129,000 are ethnic Albanians.

Kosovo

Albania's NATO Membership 'Ominous'

AU2405183093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 24 May 93

[Jovan Lakicevic commentary from the "An Argument More" program]

[Text] The haste with which neighboring Albania was accepted under NATO's wing as an associated member

has a special military-political weight. Unfortunately, it can also be interpreted as an ominous harbinger of future events in this part of the Balkans, particularly if one considers the statement by a NATO official that, we quote, this decision represents a warning to the Serbs against the destabilization of the entire Balkan region. Even without this warning, it would have been completely clear, even to laymen, that this sudden and unnatural alliance has an anti-Serb connotation, and that it is not totally unconnected with future events in Kosovo and Metohija.

As is known, this act was preceded by the visits of the head of the Catholic Church, high-ranking NATO officials, and the German Armed Forces to Tirana.

Thus, Albania has even, officially, become a base [French term *place d'armes* used] for starting possible military actions or, at least, for various NATO pressures on Serbia and Yugoslavia regarding the future regionalization of the peninsula according to Western planners' blueprints. Of course, it is not unknown that Kosovo-Metohija represents the next domino in breaking up Yugoslavia and Serbia, and that, in fact, only a suitable moment and excuse are being waited for so that the Bosnian war conflagration may be transferred into this southern Serbian province, or—something that may even be more suitable for the Western strategists—that a UN protectorate may be imposed there, on Serbian territory, in a hurry and by force. Therefore, this could be that first step on the road of the secession of Kosovo-Metohija and its accession to Albania. And this is exactly what Albanian leaders both in Tirana and in Pristina fervently desire.

The excuse for the internationalization of the Kosovo question has long been announced. A particular zeal in this was demonstrated by representatives of the U.S. Administration who have reiterated, on any suitable occasion, that ethnic cleansing should be prevented in Kosovo. What an irony: as if ethnic cleansing Kosovo has not been long finished, albeit to the detriment of the Serbs. This is invariably accompanied by that stupid addendum that Serbian aggression should be prevented in Kosovo, as if Kosovo-Metohija is not an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Serving this alleged protection are the announced increase in UNPROFOR troops in Macedonia and the possible arrival of U.S. marines to the southeastern border with Yugoslavia, as well as amassing so-called international observers on the territory of Kosovo-Metohija. Finally, also serving this is Albania's membership in NATO, which, even with the best will, can by no means be interpreted as a move to contribute to stability and peace in this part of the Balkan peninsula. On the contrary, it can only encourage Kosovar Albanian secessionists in Kosovo-Metohija to set off on the adventure of forcefully seceding Kosovo-Metohija from Serbia.

True, such ambitions are not helped by the five foreign ministers' agreement in Washington, because they expressed resolute disagreement with the resolution on the independence of Kosovo. Such a stand may be assessed as logical and the only reasonable one had it been a lasting and convincing constant in the international community's or, better put, world centers of power's, policy toward Kosovo-Metohija . However, considering all previous hints on amputating this region from Serbia, as well as numberless international missions with the only goal of coercing a new status for Kosovo-Metohija, it is really difficult to believe in the good intentions of the world potentates. This disbelief is particularly intensified by the promoted military-political status of Albania, whose leadership is constantly expressing extreme hostility toward Serbia and Yugoslavia. Such a policy undoubtedly stimulates criminal and terrorist actions by Kosovar Albanian separatists, such as the most recent one in Glogovac. It will soon be seen if this crime is going to remain a lonely mindless act by Albanian killers or if it is, perhaps, an announcement of more massive attacks and provocations that is expected to begin an action by militant Kosovar Albanians and their advisers and allies for the secession of Kosovo-Metohija.

Two Policemen Killed, Five Wounded in Attack

AU2405125693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] In a despicable attack on a police patrol in Glogovac in Kosovo two policemen of the local police station there were killed, while five were seriously injured. The deceased policemen are Zvonko Jevtic from Novo Brdo and Nebojsa Djordjevic from Prokuplje. Miroljub Milenkovic, Bojan Mladenovic, Zoran Ilic, Sinisa Vidosavljevic, all from Prokuplje, and Predrag Persic from Nis, are the injured policemen.

According to Zvonko Maksimovic, the investigating judge in Pristina County Court, the attack occurred the night before last on the railway crossing near Glogovac. The so far unidentified attackers showered the van carrying the policemen with fire from automatic weapons.

The investigating judge told the press that the attack on the policemen who were on their way to take up their post in Glogovac was planned and that it is a classic terrorist attack.

Sixty Albanians Detained

AU2405130893 Paris AFP in English 1223 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 24 (AFP)—About 60 ethnic Kosovo Albanians have been detained for questioning following an armed attack which left two Serbian policemen dead and five wounded, the Albanian Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) said Monday.

The 60 were detained in Glogovac, southern Serbia, the scene of Saturday's attack in which the policemen were ambushed by "three terrorists," Radio Belgrade said.

The DSK, the Serbian province's main political group comprising only ethnic Albanians, also said that some 30 inhabitants, including two boys aged 13 and 14, had been beaten up since the attack.

A human rights committee based in Pristina, Kosovo's main town, said Sunday that Glogovac and two neighboring villages were surrounded by more than 100 Serbian policemen backed by armoured cars and army trucks.

The population of Glogovac is about 99 percent ethnic Albanian.

Increased Incidents at FRY-Albanian Border

93BA1018A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 93 p 13

[Article by R. Barjakterovic: "Victims of the 'Open' Border"]

[Text] In just the time between 25 and 27 April of this year, three incidents occurred in the areas of Djakovica and Prizren in which eight Albanian nationals lost their lives in an attempt to cross the Yugoslav border illegally.

They were Behar (Adem) Haziti, Etem (Tot) Sulja, Mersin (Hisen) Sulja, Hisen (Aslan) Sulja, Skender Sulja, Fatmir and Astrit Durmisi, and one unidentified person. According to what has been written in the Albanian press and the "findings" of the Foreign Ministry of the Government of the Republic of Albania, which has issued a sharp protest, the Albanian nationals were "killed at a distance of 300 meters from the Yugoslav border." It is said that the "innocent nationals of Albania were killed in an extremely monstrous fashion."

On the other side, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry says that the border security authorities acted in compliance with the rules of the border service and that the use of weapons occurred after the refusal to obey or a physical attack on border security authorities.

Smugglers and Fugitives

A week before these incidents, which occurred in the vicinity of the Morina watchtower, between Djakovica and Prizren, a tobacco smuggler, Ferid Fazaj, was killed at the Vrbnica border crossing, which was the occasion for Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosmet Albanians, to issue a sharp protest with international organizations and institutions. In the course of last year, there were several reported and frustrated attempts at illegal flight over the Yugoslav-Albanian border—from those who were smuggling weapons and ammunition and foreign exchange to those who were infiltrated over the border for possible terrorist and commando actions in Kosovo and Metohija.

Almost the same number of fugitives went in the other direction, towards Albania. Those were mainly Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality who were either fleeing prosecution for crimes they had committed or were smuggling food and other consumer goods.

The Yugoslav side has several times pointed out to Albania the necessity and obligation of adhering to bilateral agreements and international standards regulating border crossing procedure. However, all these appeals have not contributed to a more favorable attitude, and the consequence has been an increased number of illegal crossings and border incidents, which, like these recent ones, end tragically.

The reporter from BORBA has visited the Yugoslav-Albanian border several times. The situation has been almost unchanged for the last several months. The border guards of the Yugoslav Army appeared to be doing their job beyond reproach, in compliance with service regulations, guarding their own border and acting preventively to deter illegal crossings. Whenever obedience is refused. whenever there is a physical attack on the security authorities or structures, they respond mainly with fire. Those who comply with the order are sent back after a brief questioning. There have been no incidents at official crossings, since everyone with papers in order has crossed the border.

Albania Has "Abandoned" the Border

On the other side, the Albanian side, on the basis of what can be seen across the "prohibited zone," there seem to be no border guards. Mainly women and children are strolling through the watchtowers on that side, and one gets the impression that Albania has abandoned its border or has completely "opened" it towards Kosovo. Here and there one can see something moving at observation posts. They appear more to be mannequins than armed border guards. After all, no one even stopped one group of tourists headed for Kosovo at the other side at the Vrbnica crossing, near Prizren, during one of our visits. Several women and children followed motionlessly the slow movements of their fellow countrymen over the "bridge," and then, when they stepped on the soil of Kosovo, they waved their good-byes.

The bunkers on the Albanian side seem to have fallen into oblivion. They appear empty and ghostly.

Since the Albanian border has been properly guarded, since almost no one monitors the people on the other side or stops them, the incidents have become frequent. There have been attacks on the watchtowers of the Army of Yugoslavia and on the border guards. The response has been fierce.

The recent incidents occurred during the first visit of Pope John Paul II to Albania. Representatives of the Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija, led by Ibrahim Rugova, were also in Tirana and Skadar. This was preceded by a big campaign in the press and over Albanian radio and TV that this was a "day for all Albanians." And while some rushed from Kosovo, via Macedonia, but also from the direction of Italy, to

Albania to welcome the pope, others were attempting to "feel out the Berlin Wall," becoming victims of the idea of an "expanded Albania."

After all, just a few days before these incidents a symposium was held in Tirana on "freeing Kosovo," and great importance was attributed to it in the public there, but also with the Albanian public in Kosovo. Some people familiar with the situation in Kosovo and Albania link the increased frequency of incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border to the demand by Albania, which has called upon the United Nations and Security Council to send UN forces to Kosovo to "prevent war and ethnic cleansing," which Serbia is supposedly preparing for Kosovo and Metohija.

It is strange, however, that in the letter to the Security Council Albania says that "on the other side of the border, in Kosovo, military forces are being amassed, aircraft are flying over, and troop movements are being conducted," while there are no Albanian border guards on the border.

[Box, p 13]

Communique of the DSK [Democratic Alliance of Kosovo]

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and the newspaper BUJKU report that two more victims have fallen since 27 April on the Yugoslav-Albanian border. "The brothers Zenun and Musa Redjepi, from the village Babaj Bokes, not far from Djakovica, were killed in the border zone." According to BUJKU, they were "killed by Yugoslav reservists."

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and the newspaper BUJKU allege that all nationals, Albanian and Yugoslav, "could easily have been apprehended, since no one had a weapon, only cigarettes." According to the DSK, it has to do with the "brutal and barbarous Serbian regime," while BUJKU comments that "Belgrade is imposing the rules of the cold war on Tirana, trying to provoke an international conflict between Yugoslavia and Albania and thereby a war in Kosovo as well."